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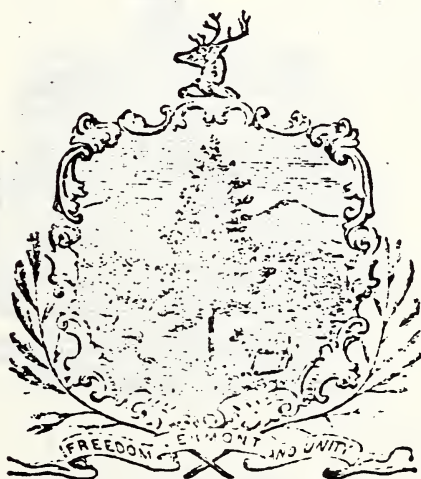
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of the annual and special meetings

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
VERMONT
HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER, 1870.



MONTPELIER:
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.
1871.

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COMMITTEE

OF THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ON THE



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U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

1975

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
VERMONT
HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

.OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER, 1870. - 80



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MONTPELIER:
J. & J. M. POLAND, PRINTERS.



PROCEEDINGS.

MONTPELIER, Tuesday, Oct. 11, 1870.

THE annual meeting of the VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY was holden in the General Committee Room in the State House, on Tuesday afternoon, the 11th of October, 1870, and, was called to order by Rev. Dr. WM. H. LORD, of Montpelier, first Vice President.

On motion of CHARLES DEWEY, the chair appointed a committee to nominate officers for the year ensuing, as follows:

CHARLES DEWEY, G. G. BENEDICT, ORVILLE S. BLISS, CHARLES S. SMITH, WILLIAM M. PINGRY;

Who reported the following list of officers, who were duly elected:

President—WILLIAM H. LORD, D. D., Montpelier.

Vice Presidents—Hons. JAMES BARRETT, Woodstock; LOYAL C. KELLOGG, Benson; Rev. ROGER S. HOWARD, D. D., Northfield.

Recording Secretary—HENRY CLARK, Esq., Rutland.

Corresponding Secretary—Hon. GEORGE G. BENEDICT, Burlington.

Treasurer—Col. HERMAN D. HOPKINS, Montpelier.

Librarian—Hon. CHARLES REED, Montpelier.

Curators—Messrs. CHARLES REED, of Montpelier ; P. D. BRADFORD, of Northfield ; CHARLES S. SMITH, of Montpelier ; JOHN R. CLEAVELAND, of Brookfield ; ORVILLE S. BLISS, of Georgia ; RUSSELL S. TAFT, of Burlington ; FRANKLIN FAIRBANKS, of St. Johnsbury.

Printing and Publishing Committee—Messrs. HILAND HALL, of North Bennington ; CHARLES REED, of Montpelier ; E. P. WALTON, of Montpelier.

Mr. REED, of the Publishing Committee, made a report, presenting the first volume of Historical Collections of the Society. Mr. REED also read his report as librarian.

Col. H. D. HOPKINS, Treasurer, presented his annual report, which was accepted.

Hon. CHARLES DEWEY nominated the following named gentlemen for members, who were duly elected :

JOHN W. STEWART, Middlebury.
GEORGE N. DALE, Island Pond.
JOHN A. PAGE, Montpelier.
ABRAHAM B. GARDNER, Bennington.
JONATHAN ROSS, St. Johnsbury.
D. R. BAILEY, St. Albans.
J. E. DICKERMAN, Derby.
HEMAN CARPENTER, Northfield.
H. H. NILES, Thetford.
C. B. EDDY, Bellows Falls.
JAMES M. SLADE, Middlebury.
JOHN W. HARTSHORN, Lunenburg.
WALTER CARPENTER, M. D., Burlington.
E. J. PHELPS, Burlington.
GEORGE M. HALL, M. D., Swanton.
H. H. BAXTER, M. D., Highgate.
CHARLES MORGAN, Rochester.
P. W. HYDE, Castleton.

W. W. GROUT, Barton.
J. B. BEAMAN, Poultney.
HIRAM CARLETON, Waitsfield.
J. B. FARNSWORTH, Windsor.
D. M. CAMP, Newport.
J. B. ANGELL, Burlington.
Rev. M. H. BUCKHAM, Burlington.
" A. H. BAILEY, D. D., Sheldon.
" C. R. BATCHELDER, Bethel.
" JOSIAH SWEET, D. D., Fairfax.
" J. N. FAIRBANKS, Bethel.
" ALDACE WALKER, D. D., Wallingford.
" E. P. FAIRBANKS, St. Johnsbury.
JOHN W. CLARK, Montpelier.
P. P. PITKIN, "
Rev. W. J. HARRIS, "
W. G. FERRIN, "
D. D. GORHAM, A. M., "
E. P. WALTON, "
J. S. PECK, "
JAMES T. THURSTON, "
W. P. DILLINGHAM, Waterbury.
M. E. SMILIE, "
J. D. DEAVITT, Moretown.
JAMES M. SLADE, Jr., Middlebury.
ORVILLE S. BLISS, Georgia.
MASON B. CARPENTER, St. Albans.
HENRY N. NEWELL, Shelburne.
DANIEL KELLOGG, Brattleboro.
C. A. HOTCHKISS, Fairfax.

Hon. DANIEL KELLOGG read an interesting paper, the subject of which was Hon. GEORGE FOLSOM; which was received with a vote of thanks by the Society to Judge KELLOGG, and the family of the subject of his memoir.

The thanks of the Society were also voted to the Printing Committee, and Hon. E. P. WALTON in particular, for the

excellent manner in which they had brought out the first volume of Historical Collections.

On motion of J. M. POLAND, it was unanimously

Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be returned to Mrs. P. L. ROBINSON of Bennington, for her donation of a portrait of Gov. HALL, the skilful and faithful work of her own hand, and that she be elected a life member of our Society.

On motion of HENRY CLARK it was voted that Hon. BENJAMIN H. STEELE be appointed to deliver the next annual address before the SOCIETY; and that the following persons be invited to prepare papers:

Rev. H. N. BURTON, on the late Hon. HENRY KEYES.

FREDERICK BILLINGS, Esq., on the late Gov. WASHBURN.

E. J. PHELPS, Esq., on the late Hon. DUGALD STEWART.

After transacting some other business pertaining more particularly to the interests of the Society, the meeting adjourned to meet in the Representatives' Hall in the evening, to listen to the address of Hon. JAMES BARRETT.

EVENING SESSION.

After prayer by the Rev. Dr. DRAKE, the President, Rev. Dr. LORD, introduced the Hon. JAMES BARRETT, of Woodstock, who proceeded to read a memorial paper upon the eminent character and services of the Hon. CHARLES MARSH. As an appropriate introduction, Judge BARRETT briefly and fittingly alluded to the late Hon. GEORGE F. HOUGHTON, who deceased while President of this Society.

HENRY CLARK presented the following resolution, which was adopted :

Resolved, That the thanks of the VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY be presented to the Hon. JAMES BARRETT for his interesting, elaborate and appreciative Memoir of Hon. CHARLES MARSH, and that a copy be requested for the archives of the Society.

WEDNESDAY, October 12.

It was voted, on motion of Hon. DANIEL KELLOGG of Brattleboro, that a committee be appointed to confer with the family of the late President, GEORGE F. HOUGHTON, Esq., relative to procuring any historical papers in their possession ; also, any of his own historical writings that have never been published. And the President appointed Mr. KELLOGG as such committee.

On motion of Hon. GEORGE G. BENEDICT it was

Voted, That the Librarian be instructed to furnish the first volume of Collections of the Society to such new members as shall pay three dollars in addition to their membership fee.

On motion of Mr. BENEDICT, LUTHER L. DUTCHER, A. M., was requested to prepare a biographical sketch of the late President of the Society, GEORGE F. HOUGHTON, Esq., to be read at a future meeting of the Society.

On motion of HENRY CLARK, Rev. H. C. RIGGS of St. Albans was also requested to prepare a paper on the life of the late Hon. LAWRENCE BRAINERD.

The Society then adjourned to meet on the first Wednesday in November.

WEDNESDAY, November 2.

The following committees were appointed :

On the Library and Cabinet—ROGER S. HOWARD, Northfield ; CHARLES S. SMITH, Montpelier ; RUSSELL S. TAFT, Burlington.

On Finance—CHARLES DEWEY, CHARLES REED, Montpelier ; FRANKLIN FAIRBANKS, St. Johnsbury.

No other business appearing, the Society adjourned *sine die*.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN
• OF THE
VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

To the Vermont Historical Society:

A list of the additions to our Library the past year is appended. And I have made note of the following matters as of especial interest:

HISTORY OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN VERMONT.

In the past year has been published *The Documentary History in the Protestant Episcopal Church in Vermont*.

Those outside this denomination will read with most interest the sketch of Rev. Samuel Peters, LL. D., and the story of his ambition to be the Bishop of the Diocese of Vermont. The "Allen papers," in the collection of Henry Stevens, contain unpublished letters belonging to this queer passage in our church history. Articles in the *Church Monthly*, of July and December, 1864, refer to these additional documents.

In one of these letters, under date of February 8, 1796, Dr. Peters' writes:

"I must also acquaint you that I am personally interested in having a canal opened from Lake Champlain to the St. Lawrence below Montreal; having been elected Bishop of Vermont, and also am to be President of its University in the city of Burlington."

We are sorry that the authors of this Documentary History did not publish *all* the known original papers on this subject; for no mine ever promised richer or more curious products than a collection of all the contemporaneous documents of Dr. Peters and his Diocese of Vermont.

This book furnishes full materials or references for those who desire to trace the controversy of the *Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts* with our State for the *Glebe Lands* granted to that Society in the New Hampshire charters.

Nowhere else can so full a statement be found of a history that is widely scattered in legislative journals, statutes, law reports, church proceedings, etc., etc.

This narrative is a valuable compilation.

CAUGHNAWAGA CANAL.

"The city of Burlington" was marked for a splendid mart of commerce and trade, to be built up by a canal connecting Lake Champlain with the St. Lawrence, several generations back. We learn from Ira Allen's History of Vermont, "*that General Haldimand, Governor of Canada, appointed Capt. Twist, the engineer of that province, to make a survey and estimate the expense of a canal from the River St. Lawrence to Lake Champlain, which was executed in 1785.*"

Allen "*offered to cut the canal at his own expense*" if he could be permitted to take toll to pay the interest on his investment.

Our readers are referred to pages 4, 264-9, of Allen's History (Vt. Hist. Coll. Vol. I, pages 333, 478,) for some of the transactions of that date in regard to the proposed canal.

In Graham's Letters, published in London in 1797, the colonel says:

"One of the motives that brought me to London was a hope that the British Government would join with the State of Vermont in opening a communication by means of a canal between Lake Champlain and the River St. Lawrence."

This canal is a very old project, and not less important to our state, and not less practicable now, than it was eighty-five years ago, when Thomas Chittenden and Ira Allen were wisely planning for the State they had founded.

THE VERMONT BRIGADE IN THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY.

Col. Aldace F. Walker, of the 11th Vermont regiment, has given us his "history of six regiments for six months," in a book of 191 pages, beautifully printed by the Free Press Association in Burlington.

How Sheridan cleaned out the Shenandoah Valley and fought the battles of Opequan, Fisher's Hill, and Cedar Creek, is graphically and admirably told.

We also learn how his chivalrous spirit and prompt strategy magnetized his soldiers and made them invincible; and

how much of truth and how much of fiction there is in Buchanan Reed's famous "SHERIDAN'S RIDE."

Col. Walker's book stirs afresh the enthusiasm of Vermont for her "Old Brigade," which gained for itself and its State such high honors.

CHAMBLY, 1776.

Captain Elisha Benedict, of Col. Goose Van Shaick's regiment, (2d battálion of New York Forces,) with about seventy-five men, was in garrison at Fort Chambly, January 8, 1776. A package of old papers, mostly relating to Capt. Benedict's company, and this period, has been presented to the Society. We select the following:

MODEL REQUISITION FOR RATIONS.

"A Provision and Rum Return for the party of Col. Goose Van Schaick's Regiment, it being the 2d Battalion of New York Forces now in camp at Upper Breastworks, 28th of October, 1775.

Well.....	15
Sick.....	4
Total.....	19

HENRY VAN WOERT, Q. M."

ANOTHER REQUISITION, NOVEMBER 4, 1776.

"A Provision Return for Capt. Van Woert's camp, for 32 men, Col. McKey's Regiment.

PETER VAN WOERT, Capt."

GENERAL ORDER.

"*To the Serjants of this Garrison*.—You are to take perticular care that the Guard is kept in good order two Sentries at the gate one the outside and the other Within side of the Gates Suffer

non to pass or Repass excepting those Belonging to the Garrison and those that bring wood and Provisions excepting they have business Immediately with me then one of the sentrys at the gate is to wait on them Directly to me and back again one of the Sentries at the gate to be taken off when the bridge is hauled up and to be Replaiced at Sun Rise and the Role to be caled over at nine o'clock in the morning and make Report to me.

ELISHA BENEDICT, Capt.

Commanding at Shambly.

Garrison Orders,)
Chambly, Jan. 8, 1776." }

LETTER TO GEN. BENEDICT ARNOLD FROM A PRIVATE SOLDIER
UNDER ARREST.

CHAMBLY, April 24th, 1776.

*To General Arnald, commanding at Montreal: Sir:—*I thought it my Duty to informe your honour of my situation at present I was taken a prisoner at this fort last fall by the army of the United Colonies I heard so much of liberty and freedom that I longed to embrace these Blessings which I thought they enjoyed I willingly Inlisted myself Into the service of the United Colonies under Capt. Hamtranck, in Col. Dugon's Regiment, the colon was brock, the Capt. was also brock I returned to Chambly again and inlisted myself to Capt Benedict's company which was stationed at the fort Col Hazen came hear and ordered me to be confined for inlisting into Capt Benedict's company there was one Canadian confined with me The crime is in these words viz "A Canadian confined by Col Hazen for mutiny and disobeying of orders Also Wm. Blundin confined by Col Hazen for inlisting into Capt Benedict's Company at a time when he was a soldier in Col Hazen's Regiment, Chambly, March 29th, 1776." The Canadian was released long ago but I am still in the Guard House closely confined I begg it as a favour of your Honour that you would order me to be tried or releas me from this confinement.

If I am guilty of death I refuse not to Die but why should I be murthured as it war in this manner it is almost a month since I was first confined the rest of the Regiment is gone of and I have no one to pittey me hear.

Sir, from Your Obedient Humbl Servant,

WILLIAM BLONDIN."

OUR FIRST VOLUME AND THE NEXT.

The publication of Vermont Historical Collections, Vol. I, this day laid before you, marks an epoch in the life of our Society.

The volume does credit to its printers, Messrs. J. & J. M. Poland, and advertises their office as one to which the publication of valuable books may be safely entrusted.

The Publishing Committee desire me here to express their obligation to Hon. E. P. WALTON, for his labors and watchful care in correcting the proofs and giving shape to the volume, and for his valuable assistance in editing matters gathered from so many sources and presenting so many questions for the judgment, taste and skill of the antiquarian, the scholar, and the printer.

The Society is also indebted to GEORGE B. REED, Esq., 37 Brattle street, Boston, our former treasurer, who has always taken a deep interest in our Society and labored faithfully for its success, for the use of his copy of IRA ALLEN'S HISTORY OF VERMONT, from which to make the reprint which appears in our volume.

Crowded out of our present volume, and ready for our next, are articles on the *Vermont Coat of Arms and State Seal*, by the State Librarian; *Runaway Pond*; by Pliny H. White; *General Whitelaw, Surveyor General of Vermont*, by Mr. Goodwillie; and the *Bibliography of Vermont*, by Chauncey K. Williams. Another year promises a second volume of equal interest with the present.

DONATIONS.

Among those who have contributed most to our shelves the past year, we have to name HENRY STEVENS, Trafalgar Square, London, and GEORGE B. REED, Boston, Mass.

Mr. Stevens's gift is of 151 volumes of old books printed from 1543 to the present century, in Greek, Latin, German, Dutch, French, Italian, Spanish, and English, and mostly historical.

Mr. Reed's gift is of 55 bound volumes and a large collection of pamphlets, the whole printed in or relating to Vermont.

THE ALLEN PAPERS.

HENRY STEVENS, of Barnet, late deceased, gathered into his possession the papers of the Allen family. Why the different branches of the family delivered these papers to Mr. Stevens, it is now useless to inquire. But the history of the Allens was for many years the history of the State. These papers are now the property of Henry Stevens's heirs, and are for sale. They have been offered to the New York State Library, as I am informed by its officers, and the purchase declined.

Whether this State or our Society would be willing to purchase these documents at the price asked is doubtful, but they must be of more value to us than to anybody else. They are now in London and in preparation for the British Museum.

LEGISLATION OF VERMONT.

Our Society, at their meeting in Burlington, July 7, 1870, accepted the act of the Legislature of 1869, and the State is now represented on the Board of Curators. This arrangement will remove any distrust as to the stability and permanency of our institution.

The Society is doing and proposes to do just what the State ought to do and pay for, and what nearly every other State has been doing for years, in publishing matters relating to State history.

None of the Journals of the Governor and Council, a distinct branch of our Legislature up to 1835, have ever been printed, and many of the Journals of the House of Representatives are nowhere to be found in print. The attention of the Honorable Legislature is invited to the subject.

And there is not a page of the Vermont Historical Collections, Vol. 1, that the State should not have paid for out of its treasury rather than that it should not have been printed.

The bills for binding books, pamphlets, and papers, and putting them in condition for examination and use, have already exhausted the amount of appropriation by the Legislature. It is estimated that two hundred dollars more will accomplish the object.

PORTRAIT OF GOVERNOR HALL.

Mr. and Mrs. P. L. ROBINSON, of Bennington, have presented to our Society an excellent portrait of our honored

Ex-President HILAND HALL. This is a copy by Mrs. ROBINSON of a portrait by MASON, painted when the Governor was in the vigor of his days.

The letter of presentation is herewith submitted.

The likeness is a good one, showing the skill of the true artist, and it is quite proper the first oil painting owned by the Society should be of a Vermonter who has done more to elucidate the early history of the State than any other of her sons, living or dead. And for so opportune a gift we can do no less than make the lady a life member of our Society.

PRESENT CONDITION OF THE SOCIETY.

Our Society was never so flourishing as this meeting finds it. The additions to its Library have never been so many in a single year as in the past. And I am able to announce that the funds of the Society are ample to secure the printing of Vol. II of Vermont Historical Collections within the next year, and it is the purpose of the committee to commence the work forthwith.

DEATH OF MEMBERS.

A year ago, at our annual meeting, our Society had to mourn the loss of a President, and this year we have lost by death his successor, GEORGE FREDERICK HOUGHTON, our genial President, whose life was most conspicuous for his high culture and his intelligent devotion to historical pursuits. That PETER T. WASHBURN, DUGALD STEWART, and GEORGE

F. HOUGHTON should be taken from our ranks in a single year is a misfortune and loss to the Society greatly to be lamented, and to each of these distinguished members the Society owes fitting honors and eulogy.

Respectfully submitted,

CHARLES REED, *Librarian.*

MONTPELIER, October 11, 1870.

BOOKS RECEIVED AT THE LIBRARY
OF THE
VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY
FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 11, 1870.

E. STEIGER, New York city.—Verhandlungen des Vereins für Kunst, u. s. w. 1869. Lit. Monatsbericht. Vol. 1, Part 5.

CHARLES F. DODGE—Northern Centinel, Extra, June 27, 1812.

Maj. O. F. R. WAITE—Vermont in the Rebellion.

JONATHAN TENNEY—Memorial of Class of 1843, Dartmouth.

Hon. GEORGE F. EDMUNDS—Congressional Globe, 4 vols.

Hon. BENJAMIN H. STEELE—Indian Narratives, 1794 to 1820. Gathered Sketches of New Hampshire and Vermont.

Col. ALDACE F. WALKER—Vermont Brigade in the Shenandoah Valley.

Hon. DAVID READ, Burlington—Nathan Read and the Steam Engine.

Gen. J. WATTS DE PEYSTER—Personal and Military History of Philip Kearney.

EDWARD JARVIS, M. D. — Trial of S. M. Andrews ;
 “Mania Transitoria.”

JOSEPH S. GRISWOLD, Benson — $\frac{3}{4}$ dollar continental currency, February 17, 1776 ; £2 and £5 notes, Virginia ; colonial currency, 1773, 1775 ; \$4 Virginia currency, 1779 ; North Carolina colonial currency.

ORVILLE S. BLISS, Georgia, Vt. — Rutland Herald, August 30, 1815 ; Post Boy, Windsor, 1805, twelve numbers ; nine pamphlets.

Rev. E. F. SLAFTER — Slafter Memorial ; Discourse by the donor before the New England Genealogical Society.

JOEL MUNSELL, Albany, N. Y. — Prussia and the German System of Education ; Flora of the Adirondacks ; Frogs and their Contributions to Science ; and twenty-seven other pamphlets.

HENRY STEVENS, 4 Trafalgar Square, London : —

GREEK.

Suidas, quarto. Basileæ, 1544.

Robertus Constantinus, Lexicon Græco-latinum, 2 v. folio. [Basileæ, 1563.]

Polybius, Eklogai per Presbeion, small quarto. Antwerp, 1582.

Euripides, Tragedies, Vol. 2.

Palaia Diatheke, quarto. Franequerae, 1709.

LATIN.

R. Stephanus, Dictionarium, 3 v. folio. Paris, 1543.

Rodolphus Gualtherus. Homilies on Matthew, Pars altera, folio. Tiguri, 1584.

Biblia Sacra, quarto. London, 1593.

Rodolphus Hospinianus, Historia Sacramentaria, quarto. Tiguri, 1598— (two copies.)

The same. Pars altera, quarto. Tiguri, 1602.

Andreas Schott, Hispaniæ Illustratæ, 4 v. in 3, folio. Frankfort, 1603.

John Pistorius, Rerum Germanicorum Scriptores, folio. Frankfort, 1607.

The same. Tomus alter Germanicorum Scriptorum, folio. Hanover, 1613.

Gulielmus Piso, Historia Naturalis Brasiliæ, etc., folio. L. Elzivir, Amsterdam, 1648.

Historiæ Nat. et Med. Indiæ Occidentalis. [Same date, probably.]

J. Prideaux, Lectiones. Oxford, 1648.

Ambrosius Calephinus, Dictionarium, 2 v. folio. London, 1667.

Vincentio Wing, Astronomia Britannica, quarto. London, 1669.

Diophantus of Alexandria, Arithmet. Libri Sex, etc., folio. Toulouse, 1670.

Antoine De Soto's Conquete du Mexique, 2 v. Paris, 1759.

Byron's voyages translated from the English, 4 v. Paris, 1774.

Ruelius and Hartmannus, 4 v., small quarto. Noribergæ, 1675.

Bohuslahus Balbinus, *Misc. Hist. of Kingdom of Bohemia*, 8 v. in 4, quarto. Old Prague, 1687.

Henricus Meibomius, *History of Germany*, 2 v. in 4, quarto. Helmstadia, 1688.

W. S. J. G. Besser, *Primitia Floræ Galicæ, etc.*, 2 v. duodecimo. Vienna, 1809.

FRENCH.

Cardinal D'Ossat, *Letters*, folio. Paris, 1624.

Jean Baptiste Labat, *Voyage aux Isles De L'Amérique*, 6 v. duodec. Paris, 1722.

Antoine De Solis. *Conquete Du Mexique*, 2 v., duodec. Paris, 1759.

Byron's *Voyages*—translated from the English. 4 v. Paris, 1774.

De Constantin, *Recueil des Voiages aux Indes Orientales*, 5 v. Amsterdam, 1775.

Guillaume Thomas Raynal, *Histoire Philisophique et Politique*, 10 v. Geneva, 1780.

M. John Mandrillon, *Le Voyageur Americain*. Amsterdam, 1782.

J. B. A. Suard, *Melanges de Litterature*, 5 v. Paris, 1803.

Chaudon and Delandine, *Nouveau Dictionaire Historique*, 13 v. Lyons, 1804.

ITALIAN.

Thomas Porcacchi, *L'Isole del Mondo*, quarto. Venetia, 1576.

SPANISH.

Antonio De Solis, *Conquista de Mexico*, 2 v. Barcelona, 1771.

DUTCH.

Isaac Weld, Reizen door de staaten van Noord Amerika, 3 v. The Hague, 1801.

A. J. Von Krusenstern, Reize om de wereld, 4 v. Haarlem, 1811.

GERMAN.

Joseph Stoecklein, Reis-Beschreibungen Missionarien, 3 v. folio. Augspurg, 1726-32.

ENGLISH.

Th. Herbert's Persian Monarchy, quarto. London, 1634.
Holy Bible, quarto. London, 1683.

Wm. Whiston's Primitive Christianity Revived, 4 v. London, 1711.

M. Prior's works, 2 v. London, 1740.

Malachy Postlethwayt's Britain's Commercial Interests, 2 v. London, 1757.

Mr. Salmon's Geog. Grammar. London, 1758.

Benjamin Franklin's Works, Electricity, &c., quarto, London, 1774; Franklin's Polit. and Phil. Misc., quarto, London, 1779; Franklin's Works, 2d Edition, 3 v., London, 1806.

J. Carver, Travels in North America. London, 1778.

Wm. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Sermons, Philosophy, Natural Theology, and Evidences, 7 v. London, 1794-1808.

W. Wintherbottom's America. London, 1795.

J. Moore's View of Italy, 2 v. London, 1795.

Capt. J. G. Stedman's Narrative of Expedition against Revolted Negroes of Surinam, 2 v., quarto. London, 1796.

Chas. Thompson's Translation of the Bible, 4 v. Philadelphia, 1808.

Geo. Chalmer's Estimate of Great Britain, 1810.

W. H. Reid's beauties of Blair. London, 1809.

John Robison's Proofs of Conspiracy of Free Masons, Illuminati, &c. New York, 1798.

New England Farmer, vols. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8.

Wm. Gurnall's Christian in Complete Armor, 3 v. London, 1820.

John Parkhurst's Hebrew and English Lexicon, 2d Edition, quarto, 1778.

G. C. Whitlock's Geometry. New York, 1849.

M. Lafever's Modern Architecture, quarto. New York, 1839.

J. Locke's Common Place Book of Bible. 1824.

W. H. Smyth's Life of Captain Philip Beaver. London, 1820.

[Size of books in Mr. STEVENS's list, octavo, unless otherwise specified.]

GEORGE B. REED, Boston, Massachusetts:—

Holy Bible, quarto, Brattleborough, 1816.

Watt's Horæ Lyracæ, Vergennes, 1813.

Nicholas Baylies' Essays on the Mind.

Hubbard's Indian Wars, Brattleborough, 1814.

T. G. Fessenden's Clerk's Companion, Brattleborough, 1815.

Rufus Nutting's Memoirs of Mrs. Emily Egerton, Boston, 1832.

Rufus Nutting's English Grammar, Montpelier, 1840.



Poems by a Lady, (Mrs. Dean of Barnard, no doubt,) Woodstock, 1820.

Opinion of Dow, or Lorenzo's Thoughts, Windham, 1804.

Narrative of Colonel Ethan Allen's Captivity, Walpole, 1807.

The Accident, or Henry and Julia, by William Perrin, Montpelier, 1815.

Jabez Earle, Looking Glass, Montpelier, 1817.

Patriot's Monitor, by Ignatius Thompson, Randolph, 1810.

Religious Courtship, Montpelier, 1810.

Hubbard's Geography, Barnard, 1814.

Hewe's Sword Exercise, Middlebury, 1814.

History of Revolution, Samuel Williams, New Haven, 1824.

Monody on Death of General Pike, by N. Hill Wright, Middlebury, 1814.

Four Sermons, by S. Fuller of Vershire, Hanover, New Hampshire.

Coleridge's Aids to Reflection, Marsh's Edition, 1839.

Samuel R. Brown, Campaigns of N. W. Army, Burlington, 1814.

Thirty-four other bound volumes.

Thirteen autograph letters of Governor Jennison.

Two packages of newspapers.

Seven packages of pamphlets, sermons, speeches, &c.

One package of Farmer's Almanacs.

D. T. TAYLOR, Rouses Point.

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OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF ENGINEERS—Reports of Engineers, 1868.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA—Memoirs, vol. 9; Penn and Logan correspondence.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY—Proceedings of Annual Meeting, April 27, 1870.

NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY OF MONTREAL—Canadian Naturalist, June, 1869.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Collections, 2 series, vol. 1.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN—Annual address by M. M. Strong, Report of Executive Committee.

AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY—First Annual Report, January, 1870.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Mortuary Record of Savannah, 1854 to 1869.

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D. P. THOMPSON'S Estate—Chamblly garrison documents, 1776.

Hon. JOHN R. CLEAVELAND, Brookfield—Volume of Massachusetts Election Sermons.

Mr. Shuttleworth's Election Sermon, 1791. (Vermont.)

Mr. Forsyth's Election Sermon, 1799. (Vermont.)

Mr. Eastman's Election Sermon, 1808. (Vermont.)

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Ecclesiastical Council at Bolton.

Number of bound volumes added during the year, 235.

Number of pamphlets, 325.

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MEMORIAL ADDRESS

ON THE

LIFE AND CHARACTER

OF THE

HON. CHARLES MARSH, LL. D.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
AT MONTPELIER, OCT. 11, 1870, .

By JAMES BARRETT, LL. D.

ADDRESS.

MR. PRESIDENT:—I see by the public announcement that the designated service for this evening is “the Annual Address.” I have prepared myself to respond to this announcement only by reading a memorial paper.

But before proceeding, it seems fitting that I should allude to the bereavement which this Society has recently experienced in the sudden and untimely death of its President,* who was also, for all the years of his manhood, one of its most earnest and efficient members, officers, and workers. This event, following so soon upon the death of his worthy and distinguished predecessor† in the presidential office—his friend and most zealous and successful co-worker in realizing to the public the peculiar purposes which the Society was designed to serve,—is doubly potent as a cause for sorrow, and doubly potent as an admonition to the living, how certain is death, and how uncertain the continuance of life and work on earth. In such an hour as he thought not, even as a thief in the night, the Son of Man came. May the living lay it to heart.

While to the rising and middle aged generations of the present day in this State the names of Allen, and Chitten-

* George F. Houghton, Esq.

† Rev. Pliny H. White.

den, and Baker, and Warner, and Robinson, are familiar as designating prominent and historic characters in the scenes and deeds that brought into organized and distinctive existence, as a body politic, what ultimately became a member of the American Union as the State of Vermont, there are other names, now hardly known to fame, that designated men whose life and deeds entered largely into the rudimental growth and fruitful maturity of the State, as it now stands forth in its excellence of character.

The emergencies, springing from the colonial complications between New York and New Hampshire in reference to the territory now constituting Vermont, required the defiant boldness, the judicious shrewdness, the fruitful adroitness, the unflinching persistence, and the obdurate fortitude that characterized and distinguished the men whom I have named and their prominent associates. But when those emergencies had been so far solved that Vermont had established its independence as a State, and as such could fulfil its functions only by establishing social order upon the foundations of law, then it was that the class of men to whom I secondly referred, but did not name, became as important and serviceable as the former class had been. The former founded the State as a political organization. The latter developed its capabilities, through legislation and judicial administration, for realizing to the dwellers within its borders the beneficent results for which it was designed by its founders. The State, as a political organization of constitutional basis and frame-work merely, is of nothing worth. It is only when it ordains and administers law that it becomes a vitalized and active power for the common

weal. To the most casual reflection it is obvious that the law in its administration—the law, as the prescribed rule of the right, duty and liability of every human being within the State, in reference both to person and property, in all the relations and enterprises of associated life—is the sole instrumentality by which the government acts in the accomplishment of the purposes for which it has existence. The makers and ministers of law supervene upon the makers of constitutions of government. The former give practical operation and effect to the work which the latter have brought forth.

When Vermont first assumed an independent existence upon the basis of a constitution of government in 1777, the then present object of chief interest was to continue and consummate successful resistance to the claims and course of New York in reference to the New Hampshire Grants. This continued for several years, during which little attention was given to the general and special legislation, and to the establishment of a systematic and well considered body of jurisprudence, such as was necessary, and would be adequate, to the upbuilding, consolidation and improvement in social prosperity and cultivation of the entire body of the people as their numbers should increase and their wants be multiplied. This is fully illustrated by the fact that the constitution of 1777 was not submitted to any action of the people after having been adopted by the convention at Windsor; by the fact—to modern minds somewhat amusing—that the legislature, in 1779, solemnly enacted that the constitution—that constitution under which the legislature had been elected and was then assembled and acting—“shall

be forever considered, held and maintained as part of the laws of this State";—rather a marked instance of the stream undertaking to rise higher than its fountain spring. Again, in 1782, in the words of the preamble: "To prevent disputes respecting the legal force of the constitution of this State, and to determine who are entitled to the general privileges of the constitution and laws," the legislature proceeded to re-enact, with some additions, the act of 1779 just recited. It is further illustrated by the fact that the laws passed at several successive sessions of the legislature were declared to be temporary, and to remain in force only till the rising of the next session thereafter.

The meagre, crude, and fragmentary character of the law, as well as the meagerness of the ideas of the then controlling minds in reference to law, as the rule of the rights, duties, and liabilities of all the subjects of the government, could not be made more palpable than by an enactment of 1779—a part of which I cite, as follows:

"That no man's life shall be taken away; no man's honor or good name be stained; no man's person shall be arrested, restrained, banished, dismembered, nor any ways punished; no man shall be deprived of his wife or children; no man's goods or estates shall be taken away from him, nor any ways endamaged, under color of law, or countenance of authority, unless it be by some express law of this State warranting the same, established by the General Assembly; or, in defect of such law, in any particular case, by some plain rule, warranted by the word of God."

"*Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That common law, as it is generally practiced and understood in the New England States, be and is hereby established as the common law of this State.*"

In such a condition of the law, both statutory and common, in a State not then a member of the Union, and in controversy with New York as to the right and fact of separate existence, and with New Hampshire as to territorial limits on the East, the population of which was largely spiced with persons who had left their homes in other Provinces and States as a measure of safety to themselves, as well as for the good of the countries they had left, and in such condition and habits of mind—such views, purposes and modes as characterized the aggregate of the inhabitants, the field was by no means the most inviting to educated professional men. Yet that field was most urgently needing men of study and cultivation in general learning, as well as in the particular department of the law,—men of clear moral apprehensions and strong moral convictions—men of uprightness and integrity, of effective force of intellect and will in behalf of the right in law and morals, to be exerted in efforts, judiciously directed, to the bringing order out of confusion, and to resolve the prevailing chaos into a law established, law governed, and God fearing State.

At an early day, and an opportune time, such men began to appear in the persons of Stephen R. Bradley, Stephen Jacob, Nathaniel Chipman, Amasa Paine, Daniel Buck, Daniel Chipman, Charles Marsh, Asa Aldis, and others, their cotemporaries and co-workers. To them belonged the work of asserting for the State the law in its true significance—the law as a system based on principles of justice and equity, as embodied in the common law of England, but to be modified, adapted, and supplemented by wise legis-

lation, and all to be so done and administered as to serve all the needs of the young, crude, restless and growing State; and that work they did both wisely and well.

For the present occasion I am to speak particularly of one of that class of men — CHARLES MARSH.

I trust I shall not be thought to have transcended proper limits if I range somewhat beyond merely the personal biography of one who was so conspicuous in his day as a lawyer and a citizen—derived in maternal ancestry from Major John Mason, famous in the early scenes of Connecticut history—a cousin, in the same line, of Jeremiah Mason, the greatest of New England lawyers—a son of Joseph Marsh, of Hartford, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Vermont,—an uncle of President and Professor James Marsh, the most eminent of American ethical and theological philosophers, and of Dr. Leonard Marsh, recently deceased, one of the most learned classical, scientific and professional scholars of his day—and father of George P. Marsh, the statesman, diplomatist, and author, and, in all departments of human learning, accorded the first rank by the learned both of this country and of Europe. As the object of my being called to my present duty is that I may contribute somewhat in furtherance of the proper ends of this association as the Vermont Historical Society, and in view of the great honor that has been brought to the State by those who have borne, and still bear, the illustrious name of Marsh, all vitalized by the same family blood, I trust I shall not weary by some detail of personal statistics.

Mr. MARSH was born in Lebanon, Conn., July 10, 1765. He was a descendant of John Marsh, who emigrated from England to the colony of Massachusetts in 1633, and removed from that colony with the Rev. Mr. Hooker and his congregation to commence the settlement of Hartford, Conn., in 1635. John Marsh married Anne, a daughter of Deputy Governor (or assistant) John Webster, and by her he had a numerous family. He survived her, and married for second wife the widow of Richard Lyman, of Northampton, Mass., by whom also he had children. Most of his immediate descendants remained in Hartford and its vicinity, with an inheritance of an extensive landed estate. John Marsh's grandson, Joseph, removed in 1697 to Lebanon, Conn., and there resided till his death. For many years he held prominent and influential positions in that region. He had a son Joseph, who also spent his life in Lebanon. The second Joseph also had a son Joseph, who was the father of Charles—the subject of my present reading. That third Joseph—the father of Charles—also resided in the same town, except for a short time, till, in 1773, he removed to Hartford, Vermont, where he settled upon land he had purchased, and the same that now constitutes the farm of Hon. John Porter, a little below Queeche Village. He had also purchased other extensive tracts in Hartford, and in neighboring towns.

Having had much experience in business and public affairs in the colony of Connecticut, upon removing to Vermont he at once became interested and active in the questions and controversies that were agitating the embryo

State, and was soon called to stations of trust and responsibility. For a while he seems to have sympathized somewhat with those who favored the jurisdiction of New York. In 1776, he was twice chosen a delegate for the county of Cumberland to the Provincial Congress of New York. That county then included the greater part of what are now Windham and Windsor counties, and portions of Rutland and Bennington. It appears, however, that he was not present at the sessions of that Congress, except for a short time in the summer of that year. Notwithstanding that early tendency, he nevertheless favored and sustained the establishment of an independent State Government, and under it was elected the first Lieutenant-Governor. In the same year, 1776, he was commissioned Colonel of the Northern, or "Upper Regiment," (as it was then designated,) of Cumberland county. In the year 1777, on the call of Gen. Schuyler for reinforcements for Gen. St. Clair, when Burgoyne was approaching Ticonderoga, Col. Marsh marched thither with the quota required from his regiment. But the fortress had been evacuated before he was able to reach St. Clair's army.

I have recently received a letter from the Hon. Roswell Marsh, of Steubenville, Ohio, a grandson of Governor Joseph Marsh, who was born and brought up in the same family with his grandfather, and was eighteen years old when his grandfather died in 1811. From his recollection of conversations in the family, in which the grandfather, with various other persons, freely participated, touching the early events of revolutionary and state history, he is certain that his grandfather, who was then the colonel of a militia regiment,

was present and took part in the battle of Bennington, as were also two of his brothers and one of his sons. Mr. Marsh's memory and convictions are entitled to great reliance. He is one of the marked men of the family, and has been for many years one of the ablest and most honored men of the Ohio bar. He has recently retired from professional practice with public demonstrations of reverence and respect for his ability and his worth. I have the memorandum of a note from Governor Hall, in which he says he thinks that Col. Marsh was not at that battle, but that he may have been subsequently in the service on the Hudson. I propose to file Mr. Marsh's letter, or a copy of it, in the archives of this Society. It is valuable as a graphic memorial sketch of its distinguished subject. (*See Appendix.*)

After the battle of Bennington, Colonel Marsh aided in the rear of the army of Burgoyne in cutting off his communication with Canada.

Although Colonel Marsh had been somewhat identified with the interests of New-York, he was a member of the convention that met at Windsor on the 4th of June, 1777, and which elaborately set forth the reasons for separating Vermont from New-York, the members re-affirming the Declaration of Independence made at Westminster in the next previous January, and solemnly pledging themselves to each other to maintain their new and independent state organization, and to resist by force of arms the fleets and armies of Great Britain. At this convention the name of the State was changed from "New Connecticut" to Vermont. He was also elected a member of the convention

which adopted the State Constitution, at Windsor, on the 3d — 4th of July of the same year.

Colonel Marsh represented Hartford in the first General Assembly under the State Constitution, in 1778. He had been the same year a candidate on the popular vote for the office of Lieutenant-Governor. On the meeting of the Legislature, a count was made of the votes for State officers while the returns were incomplete. Upon that count it was supposed that he had not been elected. Thereupon the Assembly proceeded to elect him to that office. It turned out, however, that he had in fact been elected by the people. By virtue of that office he was President of the Court of Confiscation for the eastern half of the State. At the next October session, the Assembly discarded the towns on the New Hampshire side of Connecticut river that had been admitted to a union with Vermont by the vote of a majority of the towns in Vermont and the vote of the Assembly in June of that year. Governor Marsh regarded that action to be a breach of faith, and he opposed and protested against it. In consequence of a change in public sentiment on that subject, he was not elected Lieutenant-Governor the next year. He was, however, elected to that office in 1787, 1788, and 1789. In the interim he represented Hartford several years in the General Assembly. He was also for twelve years chief judge of Windsor County Court. In addition to his official note, he was widely known as an active and consistent Christian, and a liberal supporter of the religious and benevolent objects of his day. He died at the age of eighty-five years, honored and long remembered for his

noble character, and his life of vigorous activity and effective beneficence. His home in Hartford was the scene of a hearty and generous hospitality, and was the birthplace of a large family of children and grandchildren, among whom were the James, and Leonard, and Roswell, already named.

As before intimated, Charles Marsh, on the maternal side, was descended from Major John Mason, who, in 1731, or 1732, emigrated from England to Dorchester, in Massachusetts. After short residences in several places in that colony and in Connecticut, he settled permanently in Norwich, Connecticut. For many years he took a conspicuous part in the civil and military affairs of the Colony. He was entrusted with the enterprise of putting a quietus upon the terrific and troublesome Pequot Indians, and he did it in the most effectual and lasting manner.

Colonel Jeremiah Mason, of Lebanon, Connecticut, and his sister Dorothy, were of his descendants. Colonel Jeremiah was the father of the eminent lawyer of the same name who died in Boston in November, 1848, at the age of eighty years. Dorothy, in 1750, became the wife of our Governor Joseph Marsh, and fifteen years later she became the mother of Charles, our present theme, who was the senior of his cousin Jeremiah Mason by about three years. In many mental and professional traits they bore a strong likeness. Throughout their long lives they kept up the most friendly and intimate intercourse.

When his father removed to Hartford, in 1773, Charles was a feeble boy, and thought to be unable to endure the

first year of border life in the forests of New Connecticut, as Vermont was then called. He was therefore left in the family of his sister, Mrs. Rockwell, in Lebanon, till the next year. He was then carried on horseback behind his mother to the family home in Hartford. In reply to some questioning of mine, he once humorously said that when the family moved to Vermont, he was so puny he was thought to be not worth the bringing, and so he was left behind for a year. He was then brought on; but proving worthless for any practical use at home, he was sent to college.

Mr. Marsh established himself in Woodstock in 1789. In 1786 the legislature had designated Woodstock as the shire of Windsor county. In 1787 it was enacted that the courts should be held at Windsor till the court-house should be built by the inhabitants of Woodstock to the acceptance of the judges of the county court. In 1790 it was enacted that the courts should sit alternately at Windsor and Woodstock, with this curious proviso: "Provided always, and this grant is upon this express condition, that the court-house in said Woodstock, and the court-house in said Windsor, shall be finished by the respective towns, free of any expense to said county, and furnished with good iron stoves, to the acceptance of the judges of the supreme court, before the next stated term of that court in said county." A somewhat singular contingency on which to leave the matter of having any courts at all in the county to depend. In 1791 it was enacted that the act making said two shires should remain in force for three years after the passing of the same, after which Woodstock should be and remain as the shire town in said county.

When Woodstock was first designated as the shire, what now constitutes the main and most beautiful portions of the village was owned by Capt. Israel Richardson, and was called his farm.

On the 29th of May, 1787, he conveyed to the county, by metes and bounds, what are now the public grounds and park in that village. In the meantime the building of a court-house was in progress, and had proceeded so far as to enable courts to be held in it; but before it was finished it was burned in 1791. Thereupon another was built upon a different location. In 1789, within what is now the village, besides the rudiments of a court-house, the only buildings were a tavern, put up by Capt. Richardson, "to accommodate court folks"—four dwelling-houses, a dilapidated grist and saw-mill that had been built in 1776—and a 30 by 40 feet barn, in which Rev. Aaron Hutchinson, father of the late chief judge Titus Hutchinson, gathered the first church in town. All that constitutes Elm street and its contiguous grounds and houselots, was an unbroken forest, and remained such for a little while after, when it was purchased by Mr. Marsh for £1000, and opened for improvement.

On going to Woodstock in 1789, and for a portion of that year, while he was building a dwelling-house for himself on the north side of Queeche River, near where he built his brick mansion in 1805, 1806, and 1807, he boarded at a farm-house about a mile out of the present limits of the village. He got to his office by a route of more than two miles—twice crossing the river—once by a ford way, and walking over a road with here and there a dwelling-house,

on lands that were in the beginnings of being converted into farms. In the early years of his professional life his place of worship was a log meeting-house on the summit of a hill, outside of the limits of the village, and some three-fourths of a mile from his dwelling-house. The Rev. Mr. Daman, an orthodox congregationalist, was the minister. At this period the principal part of the population of the town was in the southern and western sections—the village being in the north-eastern, and near the north line. Such, in brief, was the local habitation to which Mr. Marsh resorted as a young lawyer, with the fortunes of a life for himself, a youthful wife and prospective family depending on the man he was, and should prove himself to be.

By recurring to the dockets of the courts in Windsor county in 1790, it appears that the leading lawyers in the county were Stephen Jacob and Amasa Paine of Windsor, and Daniel Buck of Norwich. Several other established lawyers, some residing in, and some out of the county, were doing more or less of the business. On the old docket of the May term of the county court of that year, Mr. Marsh's name is entered in eighteen of one hundred and thirty-five cases. On the docket of new entries his name appears for the plaintiff in sixteen of the seventy-nine cases, and for the defendant in five cases. The names of Chipman, Bradley, and Tyler appear occasionally—being Nathaniel Chipman, Stephen R. Bradley, and Royal Tyler—all then prominent in the profession, and afterwards in official life. The county court was then composed of Gov. Joseph Marsh—father of Charles—Chief Judge, Elias Weld and Elijah Robinson,

Assistant Judges. The supreme court from October, 1789, to October, 1791, was composed of Nathaniel Chipman, Noah Smith, and Samuel Knight.

From such beginnings Mr. Marsh and the county seat grew apace. The establishment of the shire was matter of strong controversy between the interests that favored the older town of Windsor on the one hand, and Woodstock on the other. The act of 1786, designating Woodstock as the shire, did not quiet the matter, as is evinced by the subsequent legislation already referred to, continuing down to 1791. In the controversy that was on foot when Mr. Marsh located himself in Woodstock he at once vigorously enlisted. He told me that one object he had in making his home in Woodstock was to do what, and the utmost that he could to establish the county seat in that place, and to build up a village that would be eligible and pleasant to reside in as a home. Woodstock as the county seat, and as a village for residence and business, bears witness, in its history and character, to the success that attended the efforts in those respects, in which Mr. Marsh was recognized by all as the leading man.

The fact may not be without interest that the interposition of the Legislature was invoked to enable Mr. Marsh to get admitted to the Bar in Vermont. By an act of 1787 no person could be licensed by either the County or Supreme Court to practice law in this State, unless he had previously studied three years with a licensed attorney of the State, and on examination by the Court—a deduction of one year

being made in case the applicant had obtained the degree of Bachelor of Arts in some university or college. Various surmises were rife as to the motives of some leading lawyers in the State, who had prompted the enactment of that provision of the law. On graduating at Dartmouth College, in 1786, Mr. Marsh went at once to the celebrated law school of Tapping Reeve, in Litchfield, Connecticut. Excuse the interpolation of an incident. His outfit was an old mare, saddle, and bridle, with which to perform the journey, and three dollars in money, with which to pay the expenses, and they were adequate to both purposes. The extent of his wardrobe may be inferred from the fact that after arriving and taking up his quarters in a family for board, the woman of the house noticed that he constantly wore his surtout. On asking why he did not lay it off, she was frankly informed that it was the only coat he had. The old mare, saddle, and bridle, were turned to the account of paying expenses at the school.

After completing the prescribed course of study in that school, he was admitted to the Bar in the State of Connecticut. On returning home in the fall of 1788, he found that the law regulating the admission of attorneys, as it existed when he left home under the statute of 1779, had been changed by the act of 1787, and that he was thereby excluded from the Bar of Vermont until he should have studied two years more with some licensed attorney in this State. This becoming known to prominent men in Windsor and Orange counties, a vigorous memorial was preferred to the Legislature at the October session of 1788, whereupon

the following act was passed. Mr. Marsh was examined and admitted to the Bar soon after its passage.

"Passed Oct. 17th, 1788."—"An act to operate as a proviso to an act, entitled an act for the appointment and regulating attorneys and pleadings at the bar.

"Whereas, Charles Marsh, of Hartford, in the county of Windsor, and State of Vermont, after having acquired a public education with a view of becoming an attorney-at-law in this State, has been at expenses of a regular course of study of law in the State of Connecticut, and has there been admitted an attorney at the bar : And whereas, since the said Marsh commenced the study of law as aforesaid, an act has been passed prohibiting the admission of attorneys in the State, unless they shall have studied a certain time with a practicing attorney in this State :

"Therefore, It is hereby enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Vermont, that nothing in that clause of said act referred to in the preamble of this act, shall be construed to extend to said Marsh, but any of the Courts in the State are hereby empowered to admit and appoint him a regular attorney-at-law, agreeable to the known rules and customs of such Court, any thing in said act contained to the contrary notwithstanding."

Mr. Marsh graduated at the age of twenty-one years. He was admitted to the Bar in his twenty-fourth year, and settled in Woodstock as before stated.

I am able to allude to only two facts as indicating his character and standing as a student in college. In his college days the Valedictory Orator was chosen by the graduating class. Mr. Marsh and Asahel Huntington were the only candidates for the honor. Huntington was elected by the casting vote of Mr. Marsh.

The other fact is (and it was told me by Mr. Marsh himself) that he was deputed by the students of Dartmouth to obtain from Harvard College a charter for the New-Hamp-

shire Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa Society in Dartmouth College. To do this he performed the journey from Hanover to Cambridge on horseback. That Alpha was organized in 1787, and he was one of the six, out of a class of twenty-five, that were elected members of the Society. Then, as now, the rule was that only one-third of any class should be eligible—that third to be selected with reference to rank and ability as scholars. Of him as a student in the law school, I know of no traditions. By his favor I am the fortunate owner of several volumes of manuscript exercises and notes written by himself, as part of the course of his instruction and training as a student of the law. They show that the law was taught as a systematized science, in its principles, technical rules, and practice, and that in the entire course, he was most faithful, laborious, and painstaking.

His rapid rise to a commanding position in the courts of the county, as well as his appointment (the first in the State) to the office of District Attorney, by President Washington—which office he held till Mr. Jefferson came into the Presidential chair—indicate very pointedly, that both as a student and a young practitioner, he assiduously prosecuted and successfully mastered the learning of the law.

At an unusually early period of his life as a lawyer, he came to take rank with the most eminent ability of the bar, and his services were sought in nearly all parts of the State in the most important litigation, both in the courts of the State and of the United States. As he was approaching the maturity of his manhood, he was recognized as *primus*

inter pares, and for many years the first rank was accorded to him by general consent.

He, however, was subjected to the common lot and fate of mere professional ability and rank in this country, and, to a large extent, in all countries, as shown and attained in the practice of the law. The lawyer's efforts are made in the service of his client, in private consultation, in secluded study and investigation, in elaborate and tedious preparation. His open displays are made in the unthronged forum of the court-room. Often his most masterly strokes of power and exhibitions of learning are only witnessed by an audience made up of the judges, the opposing counsel, sometimes the anxious parties, a few indifferent lawyers, and equally few less appreciative and more indifferent laymen. Sometimes, indeed, he has the good fortune of a larger audience, when some exciting cause of wider interest calls in the crowd to witness a jury trial. But even then the interest is confined to that audience. It dies with the occasion. The only record or memorial of the effort made, and the ability displayed, is the evanescent impression produced upon those who witnessed it; and that, beyond the time and the occasion, passes at most into a vague tradition that hardly survives to the next generation.

Having been the student, and for a year the partner of Mr. Marsh, and intimate in my association with him for the last ten years of his life, I had an interest to avail myself of opportunities for learning what I could of his professional career and character,—and what I could of the characterizing incidents and features of his efforts as a lawyer.

When I became his student, in August, 1839, he was passing through his seventy-fourth year. While I remained in his office he was engaged mainly in a few cases of importance in the Supreme Court and Court of Chancery.

He participated in a few jury trials, but did not take the burden and responsibility of putting in the evidence and making the leading argument. His last great argument to a jury was made for the plaintiff in June, 1839, when he was a month less than seventy-four years of age. It was in the famous slander suit of *Skinner v. Grant*—a Universalist against a Baptist clergyman. He encountered, as leading counsel for the defendant, Hon. Samuel S. Phelps, who had recently passed from the Bench of the Supreme Court to the Senate of the United States, and who was then in the primal maturity of his wonderful intellectual powers, and was the foremost man of his generation at the Bar of Vermont. The venerable barrister bore from the field the wreath of victory, while the younger combatant retired with honorable wounds, but aching from the blows he received in return for those he gave.

For the three years and more of my occupancy of the same office with him, Mr. Marsh was habitually at his office table in his armed rocking-chair soon after breakfast, and remained till the hour for dinner, and again soon after dinner, and remained 'till the hour for tea. When not occupied with some matter of business, he was reading the current public journals, or making interesting and instructive conversation on important subjects, and especially subjects appertaining to the law, remarking largely upon the

legislative and judicial history of the State, and interspersing graphic sketches of the marked men of the bar and bench, and illustrating by incident and anecdote. During that period, Judge Collamer was a member of the Supreme Court. His residence was near Mr. Marsh's office. When at home in vacation, it was his custom to frequent the office and discuss with Mr. Marsh the cases before the Court, and thus get the benefit of his suggestions and views upon important subjects of the law.

From all my sources of knowledge and judgment, I may confidently say that Mr. Marsh was endowed with the highest order and best quality of intellectual gifts, and that they were faithfully developed and cultivated by the studies and discipline of the best classical and professional schools of his day, and were further continuously developed and cultivated, sharpened, and refined, by the most studious, systematic, and vigorous pursuit of the law by him as a practitioner. For breadth and profoundness of comprehension, for keenness and subtilty of discrimination, for rapidity and justness of analysis, for clearness, strength, and force of logical argumentation, for effectiveness in advocacy, as well as for a thorough, appreciative, and practical familiarity with all the artificial technicalities of the law, he was long recognized by bench and bar as having no superior, and, for all those qualities in combination, as having no equal.

His lawyership was of a type and quality that are less prevalent in recent than in former times. It was the result of a profound study and mastery of the law, not only in its definitions, propositions, rules, and technicalities, but in its prin-

ciples, and reasons, and logic,—a study that not only stored the mind with knowledge, but trained it to the most patient application, to the largest and most facile comprehension, to astuteness in discrimination and distinction, to subtilty and point in reasoning,—a study where a knowledge of the law was necessary in order to enable one to get tolerably on in practice,—where *knowledge* and *mental effort* were not substituted by digests, and leading cases, and specific treatises, and reports whose name is legion, to which resort is had for some *pat dictum*, or some case in point. Then the library of most country practitioners contained no digest but Comyn's, few text-books but Coke on Littleton, Bacon's Abridgement, Hale's or Hawkins' Pleas of the Crown, and Blackstone's Commentaries; no books on Pleadings but some brief hand-book of practice, Lillies' Entries, and Saunders' Reports. A comparison of the Bar in past generations with it in the present suffices for commentary as to the practical result of the modes of achieving the old lawyership and the new, and indicates quite decisively which mode has produced the abler, larger, more reliable, more accomplished, and higher style of professional men.

In legal drafting and special pleadings he was a consummate master. I was told by the late Chief Judge Royce, who knew Mr. Marsh well in the zenith of his professional eminence, that not unfrequently the court would advise less skilled lawyers, whose cases had got swamped in the entanglements of inartificial pleading, to seek the aid of Mr. Marsh in extricating and putting them in techinical form and on the proper footing, and that he never failed of doing it in

the best manner. For the characterizing qualities thus indicated, he attained and held his high position in the estimation of the profession and the courts. The more general appreciation of him, however, was due to his marked qualities as an advocate. In these modern days it can hardly be understood that the most effective advocate that the bar of the State has produced, (unless perhaps David Edmunds, in his brief and brilliant career, be excepted as his peer,) was hardly ever known to address a court or jury in a speech of an hour long. It can hardly be understood that he never undertook to play the orator, or to tickle untutored ears, or astonish rustic minds by the utterance of things beautiful and grand, with momentous emphasis, and thrilling modulations. His voice was small, almost feeble. The audience had to listen to understand what he was saying. He talked to the court and jury only, not heeding anybody outside. He talked quietly and without any considerable gesticulation. What there was of gesture was mainly by a significant and almost speaking use of the forefinger of his right hand. He addressed himself to courts and juries for the sole purpose of securing the verdict and judgment for his client. He mainly spoke to their understandings, reason, and judgment, with such adaptations to their emotional nature as would be likely to facilitate their arrival at the result he desired. The explanation of his short addresses is, that he selected as the subject of discussion only the points that would control in the decision to be made. The minor and less material points he never presented himself, nor replied to when presented by his adversary. He took his

stand upon the fewest points possible, and trusted the result to his success in maintaining them. He presented the case, thus eliminated of all its trashy margin of bewildering dubiousity to the easy comprehension of the tribunal, and urged his views with a force of logic and a plausibility of reason that, in great measure, excluded from the judging minds he was addressing the entertainment of any counter views of the case. Clear in his own views, he presented them so clearly and with such point, that other minds were clear in their apprehension of them; and what they so clearly saw and appreciated, they would be very likely to be satisfied with adopting and acting on, rather than on other views, more vague, less clear, less clearly apprehended, and of course less influential, and less reliable as the basis of a finding and decision of the matters in controversy. Judge Royce once told me of an instance quite in point, of which he was witness and participant. After the close of the last war with Great Britain, not a few of the leading business men of the State sought to improve their fortunes by illicit trade with Canada. The result was that, under Judge Hutchinson, as United States District Attorney, several of them were prosecuted at the same time. Each retained some leading member of the bar as his counsel for advice and defence. In this way most of the eminent lawyers of the State were thus employed, Judge Royce and Mr. Marsh being of the number. As the respective clients stood in the same peril, and upon the same grounds of law and evidence, they and their counsel put heads together and made common cause in the matter of defense. The cases were to be brought on for trial at a term of the United States Court

at Windsor. The accused with their counsel all appeared. It was understood that the District Attorney was to bring on a particular case for trial, as a test case. Thereupon counsel held a consultation to arrange the field management of the battle. Mr. Marsh was selected to make the argument for the defense. The trial proceeded. The evidence seemed to be ample for securing a conviction. The District Attorney opened the argument to the jury with exulting confidence. When he sat down, said Judge R., the jury seemed to have sealed their verdict; and when Mr. Marsh arose they seemed to say to him by their manner that they did not feel complimented by his undertaking to argue in defence. He said that himself and his associates were wondering what Mr. Marsh could say upon the evidence by way of argument against a conviction of the respondent. He, however, began, and had not proceeded long when one jurymen and then another began to show attention, and the audience began to grow hushed. Soon the attention of the jury became absorbed and eager, as also did that of court and bar and audience. The jurymen leaned forward in their seats. Their eyes became kindled and strained, and their mouths ajar. He went through his speech and sat down. Judge Hutchinson arose to reply, but he had been completely unhorsed by the argument of Mr. Marsh. He was unable to collect and bring his ideas to bear. He made a few incoherent remarks and sat down—virtually abandoning his case as in a kind of despair. After a brief charge from the court, the jury retired; but they soon returned with a verdict of not guilty.

I venture to relate another instance, in which Mr. Marsh once said to me that his argument was the most satisfactory to himself of any he ever made. A Mrs. Lamphear and her son were jointly indicted for the murder of the son's wife. The belief was general that they were guilty of the act, and a large proportion of the community had foredoomed them to the gallows.

They were very poor, and very degraded and dèspicable ; and this seemed to give point and conclusive force in the public mind to whatever might be construed into evidence of their guilt. They had in vain sought the aid of the lawyers in the county, who were accustomed to conduct trials in court. Such was Mr. Marsh's character and standing that they had not ventured to apply to him. He heard of their inability to procure the aid of counsel, and the reason intimated was the force of public sentiment against the accused. Thereupon he volunteered to defend them.

The day of trial came, and the court-house and the town were thronged by the multitudes, who were interested to aid by their presence in securing the conviction of those whose guilt was in their minds beyond a doubt. The trial was long and tedious, and through the whole the clamor for their condemnation was brought to bear to influence the result. The evidence was closed and the argument was made in behalf of the State. The Court took its recess for dinner. Mr. Marsh made his argument for the defence on the coming in of the Court in the afternoon. His first object was to counteract in the minds of the jury the outside pressure and influence of the strong prejudice and clamor against the respondents.

I have authentic knowledge of his opening sentences.
Said he,

"Gentlemen of the Jury, I know that my clients are poor and mean, wicked and criminal, and that they ought to be hung. I have no manner of doubt that they have done enough a thousand times over richly to entitle them to the gallows. But, gentlemen, that is not the question.

"They stand charged before you with having done a specific act; and you sit there under the oath of God to say from the evidence given you in court, whether you find beyond a reasonable doubt that they have done that specific act; and if you, in passing upon that question, permit any consideration aside from the evidence given you in court to influence you in the slightest degree in the verdict you shall render, you will as richly deserve the state prison as they deserve the gallows."

This pretty distinctly presented to the minds of the Jury their position and their duty. How different in its effect from what would have been any deprecation of the prevalent clamor, or attempted apology or extenuation for the despicable character of his clients. After that opening, he proceeded to argue the case upon the evidence, as bearing upon the real matter in issue under the indictment. The accused were acquitted; and it was afterwards universally conceded that the acquittal was right.

Excuse me for relating another instance.

In the latter days of Judge Collamer's practice, before going upon the Bench in 1833, and when he had succeeded to the leadership, from which Mr. Marsh was receding as old age was supervening upon his great powers, he was employed to take the burden of defending a person indicted for a grave offence. Mr. Marsh was called in as advisory counsel. It was a case of great importance and interest.

Mr. Marsh, however, was not expected, nor was he expecting, to take part in the argument. Nevertheless, after the evidence was closed, Judge Collamer requested him to make some remarks by way of opening the defence to the jury. He consented to do so, and proceeded with one of his brief and characteristic arguments. I was told of the scene by a very intelligent and appreciative witness of it. As Mr. Marsh was proceeding, Judge Collamer sat looking intently and unconsciously into Mr. Marsh's face—his own becoming pale and eager. The crowded audience were hushed, every one inclining forward as if almost drawn from his seat by the intensity of his interest and emotion—some sobbing, and all in tears. At the close, Judge Collamer arose, and said to the jury that he had expected to address them in behalf of his client, but after the argument that had just been made, he could not pardon himself if he should imperil his client's cause by attempting to add anything by way of argument in his defence, and then resumed his seat.

Let these instances suffice for specific illustration; but pardon another reference to Judge Royce.

In a protracted conversation, with which he favored me a few years ago, he dwelt particularly upon Mr. Marsh's professional qualities and character, and illustrated them by relating many incidents that had fallen within his own personal observation. He said that, for resources and adroitness in conducting the trial of a cause, he surpassed any lawyer he ever knew,—that he had seen instances in which, as the trial was proceeding, the current seemed to be irresistible against him, and his defeat was seeming certain,

when, all at once, as if by some magical sleight, the current would be reversed, and bear him to a successful result. And he said, in summing up, that what was very rare and remarkable, Mr. Marsh equally excelled in every department of the law; and, taken for all in all, as a practitioner of the law, he was the ablest man he had ever known, either in the State or out of it.

Those who knew Judge Royce—how judicious and *judicial* he was in all his views and opinions, how discriminating and how just, and at the same time how free from enthusiasm in his favorable judgments of men, will regard his judgment concerning Mr. Marsh as entitled to confidence and respect.

I turn now to say something of Mr. Marsh in his personal, as distinguished from his professional character. Possessing such strength, and scope, and brilliancy of mind as are indicated by his great professional ability and success, he was not merely a lawyer. Though not distinguished for his attainments in science or refinement in literary culture, he was largely conversant with all subjects that would grace the high-bred lawyer and citizen, who felt an impelling interest, and took an active part in everything that affected the nation, the state, the church, and society. His cast and habits of mind led him in the direction of political, ethical and theological readings rather than of the classic prose and poetry of his mother tongue. In the departments first named he was eminently versed. Few men stood more intelligently upon clear and well defined principles, or could maintain themselves with larger resources of fact and force

of argument. He was hardly less a theologian than a lawyer. In politics he was a Federalist of the school of Washington, and thus he lived and died, without "shadow of turning." He was a valiant champion of the elder Adams till he made terms and entered into social fellowship with his arch enemy and unscrupulous maligner, Thomas Jefferson. Thenceforward he held him in unspeakable contempt. He profoundly despised John Quincy Adams after his early treason to his father by joining hands with Mr. Jefferson in politics.

In theology he was a Calvinist of the Edwards school, and was earnest for that faith as embodied and represented in the orthodox congregational creeds. From his middle life to his death he was a professing, earnest, and sincere Christian — contributing largely of his means and his personal efforts to all enterprises judiciously adapted to the spread and prevalence of the religion of the Bible. He gave to his parish the site for the meeting-house and the parsonage. He was a strong pillar and a faithful worker in the Church of which he was a member, and very efficient in staying up the hands of the ministry. He participated freely in the conference and prayer-meetings.

He was a corporate member of the American Board for Foreign Missions from the year 1818. He was one of the founders, and for many years, was President of the Vermont Bible Society. He was also Vice President of the American Bible Society, and of the American Education Society. He was also one of the early members, and most interested patrons of the American Colonization Society.

Mr. Marsh was an intelligent and faithful patron of sound learning, and was recognized as such at an early period of his life. In 1809 he became a member of the Board of Trustees of Dartmouth College, and held the place for forty years, and till he was removed by death. He came into the Board at an important epoch in the history of that institution. The administration of the President, John Wheelock, who had then held the office for thirty years, was causing great concern to some of the Trustees. Yet the majority was, as their predecessors had been, subservient to the views and wishes of the President—giving a formal and unquestioning assent and ratification to all his policy and practical measures. As the son, heir, and successor of Dr. Eleazer Wheelock, the founder and first President of the College, he conceived, and was apparently acting upon the idea, that although, under the charter, the College was a public eleemosynary corporation, yet it was in reality a corporation sole, and he was the sole corporator. His course of administration in reference to all its interests seemed to indicate that he regarded it as really a private foundation, in the benefits of which the public might share under such a practical governance as to him should seem meet, and that it was his right to subordinate the public interests to his own personal views and purposes. Judge Elijah Paine, of this State, had become a Trustee in 1806. He and some other of the Trustees were disposed to change that course and tendency of the Presidential administration. Mr. Marsh added to their number, and gave the preponderance against the policy and course of the President. Measures were

adopted and events were in train that, by gradual progression, culminated in 1815 in the dismissal of the President from his office. In the meantime, and following thereupon, through the instrumentality of the President, aided by his partisan friends, the interposition of the Legislature was secured, and the College, under the charter, was supplanted by a University under a legislative act of incorporation. Thereupon ensued scenes of controversy, attended with more or less of warlike demonstrations and violence, which gave occasion for, and resulted in, the famous "Dartmouth College Case."

At an early day, and from time to time, this State had been a larger pecuniary benefactor to the College than even the State of New Hampshire. The town of Wheelock, in 1785, was donated to the College by act of our State Legislature; and there were several other smaller grants of land. This State then, as it ever since has, furnished a considerable proportion of the students to the College,—now indeed furnishing about one-fourth of the entire number in the College proper. In those days, Vermont was deemed to be worthy and entitled to have an influential and efficient representation in the Board of Trustees. Such men as Nathaniel Niles, Stephen Jacob, Elijah Paine, Charles Marsh, and Samuel Prentiss were her representatives. The first four were for many years members at the same time. Judge Paine, Mr. Marsh, and Judge Prentiss were members together for some years. The quota of Vermont is now reduced to one. The first four were members during all the period of the origin, progress, and culmination of the great controversy; and they

were of the most active and most effective in carrying it through to a successful triumph for the College, as against the removed President and the University.

I had hoped to be able on this occasion to develope with considerable particularity and fulness the position and part that Mr. Marsh maintained in that matter. But I must content myself with saying, in brief, that he was the leading brain and pen of that Board in the conduct of the warfare in behalf of the College. In professional learning and ability he was eminently superior to any other member of the Board during that period. His pen for attack and defence was the most pointed and powerful. His fearless and uncompromising firmness, and his vigor of action in behalf of what he deemed the right, when great principles of law and morals, and great public and personal interests were involved, distinguishingly fitted and designated him as a foremost man in such a conjuncture in the affairs of the College. I have in my possession the printed "*Vindication* of the Trustees" in answer to the "Sketches" and the "Review" of the sketches, covering eighty-two pages of large octavo, with an appendix of twenty-two pages more, which evinces the point and power of Mr. Marsh's pen.

I have also in my possession copies of letters to Mr. Marsh from the eminent counsel, by whom the cause of the College was argued before the Superior Court of New Hampshire and the Supreme Court of the United States—Jeremiah Mason, Jeremiah Smith, Daniel Webster, and Tho. Hopkinson of Philadelphia, while the litigation was

in the process of being put on foot in proper form, and while it was pending for final argument. These letters show that Mr. Marsh held equal rank with them in weight of opinion in council, and was relied upon by them in devising and carrying forward the measures that would bring the subject matter of the controversy to a material and decisive issue for the judgment of the law thereupon. As he did not participate in the final arguments in either of the courts, of course his name was not heralded by the published reports of "The Dartmouth College Case"; — a noticeable instance, showing how the most momentous and successful exertions of eminent professional learning and ability may have no public audience, and no "trumpet that sings of fame."

As before remarked, Mr. Marsh continued to hold his place as Trustee till removed by death in 1849. To the last years of his life he was active, and exercised a controlling influence in the discharge of the duties of his office. I have authentic assurance that, in all matters within the province of action by the Trustees, he was individually the most pronounced and effective member of the Board. I know some instances in the latter years of his office in which both President and Professors had, for some imputed delinquency, a moving experience of his personal interposition. I dismiss this topic with saying that, next to his family, the College was cherished by him as an object of affectionate interest to the close of his life.

As a man in his individual personality — as a *man*, independently of, and characterizing him in, his conventional position and relations — domestic, social, professional and official — he was marked and noteworthy.

He was tall, more than six feet, of a well proportioned frame, spare of flesh, but not cadaverous—of a fine and sensitive nervous and muscular organization—of great equipoise and self-control over a temper that was both susceptible and strong. He was remarkably neat in his person and his dress. He always wore a suit of black. His coat retained the cut of earlier days and did not vary with the changing fashions. He wore a broad, white neckerchief, with his shirt collar folded down over it, and he adhered to the ruffled bosom to the last of his life.

His mind was of the first order in quality and strength—quick, active, vigorous, and earnest—and was trained by study and use to the most facile action and effort.

In his moral composition he was equally marked. His apprehension of right and wrong had no nimbus of dubiosity. The distinction between them in his mind was as by a line of fire issuing from an impassable gulf. What was settled in his mind as right, was right and nothing else. Though he was rapid in his mental and moral processes, he was rigorously cautious as to the correctness of his results. He endeavored by all his means to be sure that he stood on solid premises. He was careful that his reasonings should lack no element or feature of sound and legitimate logic, nor be turned awry by impertinent influences. Upon his conclusions he stood immovably, fearlessly, and maintained himself with giant strength against all odds in controversy. He enjoyed some advantages in this respect, for he was so constituted, tempered and trained, that, provided he secured his own self-respect, he made no question with himself

how others might regard what he thought, or said, or did. Though he was not indifferent to the approbation and good opinion of others, he would only secure it as it might be obtained by his acting up to his own moral convictions. Hence he was plain and outspoken on all subjects of interest—public, social, and personal; and though he was not forward or intrusive—though his ordinary bearing in his intercourse with those around him was marked by a gentle modesty and a quiet gracefulness—still, he never compromised his opinions, or modified his expression of them, when he had occasion to make them known, from any considerations of social complaisance or of personal delicacy.

With such clearness and strength of comprehension and conviction, it was natural, as was the fact, that he should have a kind of imperiousness and impatience of manner which would be manifested as occasion should prompt; and often it bore discomfortingly upon those who became the objects of it. Still, he was of delicate sensibilities, of a placable spirit, and a large, kind, and generous heart.

Though his manner was controlled and free from boisterousness when he was under the strongest excitement, still there was a power in it that told with strange effect. In the prosecution of his moral convictions by word and act, the emotion of fear as to consequences never seemed to have been consciously felt by him.

There was a period when it was pretty extensively thought that the judges of the supreme court were accustomed in their official administration to show favor to the parties and counsel who were of their own political faith,

and disfavor to those of a different cast. Those judges were of a party to which Mr. Marsh did not belong. After some supposed experience in this respect, as Mr. Marsh was addressing the jury in behalf of a client whose politics were obnoxious to the court, he admonished the jury that the presiding judge would be likely in his charge to do what he could to secure a verdict against his client, — but that they were sworn to find the facts from the evidence, and it was no part of the judge's province to meddle with that matter in his charge, — and in that respect it was their duty to disregard what the judge might say. The judge interrupted him, calling him to account, and intimated that he would commit him for contempt. Mr. Marsh quietly turned towards him, and extending his forefinger somewhat in the direction of the judge's nose, said in a suppressed tone — “I defy you to do it. Your honor dare not do it.” The judge quailed, and the argument proceeded.

There was another instance, when Judge Skinner — one of the most upright and able of our judges, — was presiding in the trial of a cause by jury, in which Mr. Marsh regarded it of great importance to make a searching cross-examination of an adversary witness.

As he was proceeding, the judge somewhat impatiently interposed, indicating by his manner that he thought Mr. Marsh was going beyond the limits of propriety. He explained to the court the propriety of what he was doing, and proceeded with his cross-examination. Soon the judge interrupted him again, and again Mr. Marsh explained, and was proceeding as before. Again the judge interposed still

more pointedly, and with somewhat of menace in his manner. Mr. Marsh thereupon arose, and, with his arms folded across his breast, addressed himself to the judge in a manner of cool and overmastering fearlessness, amounting almost to defiant boldness, in the assertion of what he deemed his right, and said, "I have made known to the court the reason of the course I am pursuing. I regard it important to the rights and interests of my client that I should be permitted to proceed. In my long experience in the courts. I think I have learned what are my rights, as well as what are my duties both towards my client and the court, and I have self-respect enough to insist upon the one and perform the other, and I am in no need of being instructed by the court as to either. I will thank your honor not to interrupt me again while I am undertaking to cross-examine this witness." The cross-examination proceeded, and the judge did not interrupt him again. The result was that the witness was shown from his own mouth to have been false and lying in the testimony he had given.

For one so highly endowed with powers that would have enabled him to shine in the high offices of the State and Nation, and with full consciousness of those powers, he was most remarkably free from that cast of ambition which almost uniformly inspires such men with a desire for such offices. He never held but two offices depending on the popular vote. He was member of the 14th Congress (1815-1817). He was nominated against his will and protest, and after he had left Montpelier, where had assembled several self-commissioned leading politicians to designate a candidate. He

did not heed instructions in his official action, but voted according to the dictates of his own judgment in the discharge of his sworn public duty. Among other things that were not savory to his constituents, he voted in favor of compensating the members of Congress by an annual salary of \$1500. He was not again elected. He would have been likely to make a still poorer show in securing popular favor in these later times, when the crowning merit of a public representative is deemed to be, that he is but the echo of the voice of his constituents. The other office was that of member of the Council of Censors in 1813.

Although conscious of his powers and ability, he was not self-seeking. He exercised, as it were, a judicial judgment upon the comparative merits of others and himself, and accorded to others the full measure of their dues. In this, too, he was controlled by his delicate and uncompromising sense of right and propriety in all matters touching public and personal interests, as involved in, and affected by the holding and administration of public office. While his father was chief judge of the county court, it was the province of that court to appoint the state's attorney. That office, upon the solicitation of the bar, was tendered to him. He declined to accept it, for the reason that he deemed it improper for him to hold it while his father was presiding judge of the court from which he would have received the appointment, and in which he would have to act in performing his official duties.

The office of chief judge of the supreme court was tendered to him at the time Nathaniel Chipman, in 1813, was

restored to that position. I once asked Mr. Marsh why he did not take it. He said that, while such a man as Nathaniel Chipman was available for the place, he should have been so ashamed of himself if he had consented to take it, that he should not have been able to hold up his head in the face of the public. That was a weakness not very prevalent at any period. I think cases of it have not been recently known.

I may here with propriety remark that there existed between Mr. Marsh and Chief Judge Chipman a very cordial and intimate friendship. I know of no man for whom Mr. Marsh felt a more profound reverence and esteem.

What has thus been shown of Mr. Marsh illustrates what was true in fact, that he was very little affected in his judgment and action by considerations of personal favor to himself, to be secured by catering to popular sentiment, or cultivating popular eclat. Though he had great respect for the intelligent and considerate judgment of others, he had none for the spasmodic and zealous demonstrations of partisan popular sentiment. He regarded the vote of majorities as a very uncertain and unstable test or evidence either of the right or the expedient in religion, or in morals, or in politics. And the eclat achieved by securing the shout and song of mere popular applause he regarded with supreme contempt. No considerations in that respect were ever supposed to have affected his own views, expressions, or actions upon any subject in any relations of life.

His entire, uncalculating, unselfish and fearless independence gave him great weight of influence in all matters in

which the action of others was to be based upon, and controlled by, an intelligent judgment, led to a result by the legitimate and substantial reasons of the thing.

While Mr. Marsh was neither waggish nor droll, he nevertheless had a keen and ready wit, which laughed in genial humor, or wounded with a purposed stroke, as occasion might call it into exercise. His faculty of drawing the ludicrously grotesque as well as of limning the repulsive and detestable in conduct and character, has probably not been equalled in the State.

His pupil and partner, and life-long neighbor and friend, the late Honorable Norman Williams, was accustomed to recount instances in illustration in both directions. But time forbids that I should recite them.

I beg pardon for obtruding one that fell under my own observation. An important cause in chancery came on for argument at a term of the Supreme Court in 1841. The court was composed of Williams, Chief Judge, Royce, Redfield, and Bennett. Mr. Marsh was counsel for the defendant. He had seated himself at the table, folded his paper, and selected his pen for the purpose of taking notes of the argument to which he expected to reply. As the orator's counsel commenced, Mr. Marsh, with pen in hand, was ready to make his notes. After maintaining his position for awhile, and finding no occasion to use his pen, he laid it down, and settling back in his chair, with his head dropped upon his right shoulder, he was quietly enjoying his pinch of snuff. At the end of about thirty minutes, the advocate made a brief pause. On starting anew, in a

tone and emphasis peculiar to himself, he said,—"And now, your honors, I am going to suggest one idea." "Are you?" interjected Mr. Marsh. "Stop, let me take it down," in the most quizzical tone of mock sincerity, at the same time, with a nervous motion, catching up his pen and putting himself in position, he sat intent to catch the forthcoming "*one* idea." The scene was so comical in the manner in which Mr. Marsh interloped upon the unwary advocate—his voice and motions, and the expression of his face, that all the judges and all the lawyers—the advocate excepted—incontinently burst into a spontaneous and hearty laugh. The laughter subsiding, the advocate went on,—Mr. Marsh for awhile retaining his position, ready for the promised idea. After continuing thus for some minutes, he dropped his pen, and settled back with a kind of sigh of disappointment, saying in a most deprecatory tone, "Ah, a false alarm after all"; again provoking a merry laugh. He found no further use for his pen during the residue of the argument.

Chief Justice Williams once said to me that Mr. Marsh wielded the most powerful weapon of severity of any man he ever knew. I have heard others, who knew him well, make substantially the same remark. And what was quite peculiar, his most agonizing strokes were administered with entire quietness of manner, with suppressed voice, and in language of rigorous chasteness. He scarified, and flayed, and slaughtered with a polished weapon. But woe to the person on whom it fell.

Judge Hutchinson, in speaking to me of Mr. Marsh, said that he had the most wonderful faculty of making any body appear contemptible, of any person he ever knew. Said the Judge, —

“Once when I was State’s Attorney a man was indicted for stealing hay out of his neighbor’s barn. The case came on for trial, and Mr. Marsh defended the accused. I introduced as a witness an entirely credible man, who testified fully all about it, — that he saw the respondent go into the barn, and then he looked through a crack between the boards and saw him pitch down the hay and bundle it up and carry it out of the barn, and then saw him go off with it : and there was no sort of doubt about the theft having been committed just as the witness testified. But when Mr. Marsh came to argue the case, he made that witness appear so mean and contemptible — peeping through a crack to see his neighbor steal hay — that the jury didn’t pay the slightest attention to any thing he had testified, and they brought in a verdict of not guilty.”

Mr. Marsh had been sued by a lawyer of Rutland, who was more favorably regarded for his ability than his uprightness, on some alleged personal claim. The suit was unfounded and vexatious. He went to Rutland at the proper time for the purpose of attending the trial. Instead of proceeding to trial, the plaintiff applied for a continuance, making a verbal statement of his reasons, and offered to put the statement in writing and verify it by his oath. Mr. Marsh objected, and stated the grounds of his objection, and closed his remarks by saying : — “ I beseech your honors to forefend that man from the crime of perjury, by not affording to him either the temptation or the opportunity to commit it, as he certainly would do, if he should make oath to the statement he has made to the court.” The

court declined to receive his affidavit, and the cause was ended by a judgment for the defendant.

I should not be justified in citing further illustrations.

I quote a paragraph from a memorial sketch, written soon after Mr. Marsh's death, by the late President Lord, — one of the keenest and most appreciative discerners of the quality and character of others that I have ever known. His ideas of Mr. Marsh were formed from an intimate personal acquaintance of thirty years.

"His manner was simple and quiet. Except that his eye was ever penetrating and searching, he seemed ordinarily in repose. But his temperament was highly nervous and excitable. Under a strong impulse he was impetuous and severe. He could then deal in sarcasm and invective : and on such occasions one would not choose to be the subject of his criticism or the victim of his indignation. However, it was not in matters personal to himself that he was apt to become excited ; but when his cause, his trust, his country, or his faith seemed to be in danger. It was his keen discernment of truth, his sense of right, his regard for fitness, his jealousy for important interests, that made him ready to take alarm, and roused his lion spirit. For that reason those who knew him took it not unkindly though he sometimes exceeded the limits of conventional complaisance, and bore more heavily upon an adversary than they would have dared or chosen. They would as soon complain of electricity because the lightning sometimes strikes. If he took stronger views of the subject that excited him than most men, it was because he had a stronger mind, more comprehensive of principles and relations, and more prophetic of results. If he was sometimes more confident and uncompromising, yet who is not when he knows himself is right, and the world is wrong. If he stood by his own judgments against the suggestions of expediency and policy, yet, if there were no such men, then wisdom and virtue would be mere abstractions, of no practical account or value in a world that could not otherwise be saved."

Mr. Marsh was not a politician ; yet he felt a constant and absorbing interest in public affairs as affected by na-

tional and state legislation, and by the executive administration of both governments. He was in correspondence with leading men at Washington upon subjects of congressional and executive action, and was full and frank in suggestion, criticism, approval, and condemnation. I knew of his writing several letters, not only to the delegates from Vermont, but to Mr. Webster and Mr. Choate. He was regarded by them, and by many of the eminent men of the country in all stations of political and judicial office, as their peer, and he commanded their profound regard and respect. He was at times in correspondence with Chancellor Kent.

Mr. Marsh was a model gentleman of the old school, and of the highest social breeding. With great simplicity of manner, he bore himself with a courtly and attractive grace. He was familiar with the best forms of society, both in city and country, and his baronial family home was the free resort of leading families of New England and New York, as well as of the poor and the lowly of his own neighborhood. Though riches, for the sake of being rich, were no object of his ambition or effort, and though he gave no thought to the accumulation of property as an independent and ultimate purpose, his very large and lucrative practice brought a large current income, a portion of which was expended in the purchase of an extensive real estate constituting his farm and homestead. He disposed of portions of that real estate from time to time, till some four hundred acres were remaining, which, a few years before his death, he conveyed to his youngest son, — thereby relieving himself from the burden of its management, and making provision for the proper sup-

port of himself and his wife, in the accustomed family arrangement, during the residue of their lives. "Beautiful for situation" was the house in its grounds and its commanding outlook over the village, and through a wide sweep of delightful landscape. It has now become the residence of Mr. Frederick Billings, who has enlarged the mansion, and is extensively improving the surrounding grounds. All the residue of Mr. Marsh's income was currently expended in the support and education of his family, in maintaining the large and generous hospitalities of his home, in dispensing aid and comfort to needy neighbors and dependents, and in free contributions to worthy enterprises of religious, philanthropic, and social interest. Aside from his real estate he had no self-accumulating moneyed investments.

Mr. Marsh was twice married;—first, in 1789, to Miss Nancy Collins of Litchfield, Connecticut, by whom he had a son and a daughter. That son bore his father's name, and was in all his qualities a worthy son of such a sire. He was educated at the same college and the same law school as his father, and gave sure signs of great eminence if his life had been spared; but he died of consumption in 1817, at the age of twenty-seven years. He had settled as a lawyer, and had married, in Lansingburg, New York. The daughter died some fifteen years ago, the widow of Dr. Burnell, of Woodstock. Mr. Marsh's first wife died in 1793. His second wife was the widow of Josias Lyndon Arnold, who was a large proprietor of lands in St. Johnsbury and vicinity, and a part of whose name was given to the town of Lyndon. He settled in St. Johnsbury as a lawyer, and

there died in 1796, aged twenty-eight years. Mrs. Marsh was the daughter of Dr. Elisha Perkins, of Plainfield, Connecticut. The family was, and has continued to be, one of the foremost in social position, and most favorably known in Connecticut and wherever its descendants have been dispersed and settled. As the wife of Mr. Arnold, she made her wedding tour from her home in her father's household to her new home in Vermont on horseback, and for a considerable distance before reaching St. Johnsbury on a mere bridle road cut through otherwise unbroken forests. As the wife of Mr. Marsh she was the mother of four sons—Lyndon A., George P., Joseph, and Charles, and one daughter, Sarah B., who became the wife of the Hon. Wyllys Lyman, late of Burlington, and by him she was the mother of a son, who is now holding a commission in the United States Army, and of a daughter who is the wife of our present distinguished Senator Edmunds. They are the only surviving grandchildren of Mr. Marsh. The son, Joseph, and the daughter Mrs. Lyman, died nearly thirty years ago. The other sons survive. The second wife died in 1853.

It seems proper to say, that with a wife who was meet for him, and was his peer, the family of Mr. Marsh was of controlling influence in giving form and character to the social organization and development of the growing village and town. Both of them gave the best of their energies and efforts, and contributed most liberally of their means, in devising and carrying forward all plans of policy and action that would tend to the upbuilding of a social order that

should answer to their desires in respect to the place of their family home for all the fortunes and experiences of a life for themselves and their children. Woodstock in its social history is the memorial and witness of the quality and manner of their work. The better forms of social life throughout the county and the State are not without significance to the same effect.

Mr. Marsh died at his residence, of an acute inflammation of the lungs, after a short but painful illness, on the 11th day of January, 1849. His faculties of body and mind had not suffered the decay so common to old age. Except that their natural force was somewhat abated, they remained unimpaired to his last sickness, and in that his mind was clear, strong, and active to his last moments.

Upon his death, obituary notices of various length and fulness were extensively published in the journals of the time. I have alluded to one, very full, discriminating and just, by President Lord. I have the copy of another, printed in the *National Intelligencer*, at Washington, and supposed to be from the pen of Judge Phelps, who was then Senator in Congress.

But I must close this long and inadequate paper; and I do so by repeating in substance what I penned many years ago on the same subject.

To apprehend and appreciate the true measure and worth of the man, it is essential to hold in mind the character and condition of the field in which he began and prosecuted the work of his life of manhood. In his beginnings Vermont was known by a bad, rather than a good, name—rather as

the asylum of rogues and refugees from justice, than, as now, as the model and proverb of virtue, intelligence, prosperity, and happiness. The territory was wild and rugged. Only the germinal elements of society existed. Government was in embryo. Judicature and jurisprudence were crude, fragmentary, and inadequate. Education in literature, science and art, had no footing in the State. The maturing of a complete form of constitutional government—of an ample and well adjusted system of statutory and judicial law—of an orderly and upright administration of justice; the devising and sustaining and rendering effectual of the early measures that have resulted in our established and controlling religion, in the general intelligence and higher education of the people, and in the good order and refinement of society, are of the work and fruits of the life, efforts, and influence of Mr. Marsh and his associates of kindred spirit, ability, and worth. If he had chosen his field of action in some of the important towns in the older States of New England, he would have been known as Parsons, Gore, Story, Mason, and Smith have been, and still are known. His fame would have been more on the tongues of men, in the public journals, and the printed books. Under the fortunes and lot of his life, Vermont, in the best features of her history, in character and position, is an eloquent and enduring memorial of his life, and services, and worth.

APPENDIX.

STEUBENVILLE, September 26, 1870.

Dear Sir :—I have just received a letter from my cousin, Charles Marsh, of Woodstock, asking for you some information as to my grandfather, Joseph Marsh, of Hartford, Vermont. I wrote to him on the 23d of September, 1869, giving him such information as I had from conversations in the family respecting my grandfather until his death in February, 1811. (That letter has been mislaid.) I was eighteen years and sixteen days old when he died, and had lived in the same family with him—being the oldest son of Daniel Marsh, who was the second son of Joseph. My grandfather was what is called a reticent man. He spoke only incidentally of the events of his life. What I learned of his participation in public affairs was mostly from conversations between him and old men of his own age who visited him, and with whom he talked familiarly of the events in which they had participated. He was colonel of a regiment of militia of the New Hampshire Grants. The sudden movements at Hubbardton prevented his being there. I am certain from hearing him, Judge Paine of Williamstown, Major Bailey of Weathersfield, I think, also, his brothers, Abel and Elisha Marsh, and his oldest son Joseph, all speak of the battle of Bennington as an event in which they had a share—that they were there. I have also heard them and my father, who was a younger man, often speak of camp life whilst the regiment guarded the river to prevent Burgoyne's retreat and cut off supplies from reaching him. The Rev. Lyman Potter, of Norwich, was chaplain of the regiment. He removed West about 1801 or 1802, and settled three miles from here, on the former residence of Logan, the Mingo Chief. We became intimate after 1820, and he often spoke of my grandfather, of whom he was an admirer, and of early events, and of the war. He was at Bennington, and in the camps at Whitehall, Fort Ann, Fort Edward, and Sandy Hill. After

Mr. Potter's death, my grandfather's papers came into my hands, and amongst them I found Mr. Potter's receipt to my grandfather as colonel for his pay as chaplain of the regiment, upon which, and some evidence obtained at Norwich, his widow obtained a pension.

My grandfather's book-learning was very limited, but he was by no means ignorant. I have often heard him say that he never went to school but one month in his life, — but he always added, in speaking of it to his family, that there were other ways of acquiring knowledge. He was not an indiscriminate reader, and in his latter years he read but little. He had a tenacious memory, and what he read he made his own. He had a close logical mind, and he excelled in acquiring knowledge from conversation as well as in imparting it. His conversation was the most interesting I ever listened to. It was never trifling. His temper was equable. He was kind, never irritable, and all children loved him. His politics were of the pure Washingtonian school, in which he trained all his family.

If his charity ever fell short, it was towards a man who spoke disrespectfully of Washington. He was a sincere, earnest Christian, but was free from bigotry. When I was fifteen years old, he used his influence successfully to have his grandchildren — about twenty around him — attend a dancing-school. I remember how he reproved his brother deacon, Clark — who was a very bigoted man. Whilst they were earnestly debating the matter, deacon Clark, being fond of music, beat time with his foot to a fiddle that old Peter, a black man, was playing in the kitchen. He silenced the deacon by boldly charging him with dancing.

In person, my grandfather was of large stature and of good proportion. As tall at least as Lyndon, he was broad-shouldered, large boned, lean, of great muscular power. His weight was over two hundred pounds. I have seen him do things at eighty years old that none of his descendants could do. He wore small clothes and the triangular hat. He was a bold and graceful horseman. He kept a chaise, but he never used it when he rode alone.

Much of the original surveys of Hartford, Pomfret, Woodstock, and Barnard, were made by him.

As I have thus described him, he rests in my remembrance. It would be strange if I were not partial to his memory.

Truly, ROSWELL MARSH.

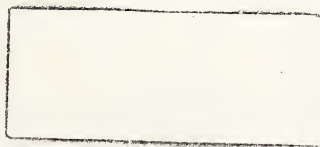
HON. JAMES BARRETT.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
VERMONT
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OCTOBER 8, 1872.



MONTPELIER:
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.
1872.





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RUTLAND:
TUTTLE & COMPANY, PRINTERS.

PROCEEDINGS.

THE Annual Meeting of the VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY was holden in the General Committee Room at the State House, in Montpelier, on Tuesday afternoon, October 8th, 1872, and was called to order by Rev. William H. Lord, D. D., President.

Col. Herman D. Hopkins presented the annual report of the treasurer. The following is the summary of the report :

Receipts,	-	-	-	-	\$1,061 98
Disbursements,	-	-	-	-	1,017 16
Cash on hand,	-	-	-	-	<u>\$44 82</u>

The Society have United States bonds amounting to \$450. The expenditures the past year have been chiefly for publishing the volumes of the Society's collections.

Hon. Charles Reed presented the annual report of the librarian, which was adopted.

On motion, the following named gentlemen were elected members of the Society :

GILBERT A. DAVIS, Reading.
COL. WHEELOCK G. VEAZEY, Rutland.
COL. KITTREDGE HASKINS, Brattleboro.
Z. V. K. WILLSON, Esq., Rutland.
E. J. ORMSBEE, Esq., Brandon.
HON. BARNES FRISBIE, Poultney.
A. M. CAVERLY, M. D., Pittsford.
OREL COOK, M. D., Mendon.
HON. HOYT H. WHEELER, Jamaica.

HIRAM A. HUSE, Randolph.

HENRY BEAN, Northfield.

WILLIAM A. COLWELL, Georgia.

DAVID L. FIELD, Milton.

REV. J. COPELAND, Waterbury.

HON. GEORGE BALLARD, Fairfax.

HENRY A. HARMON, Bennington.

L. HOWARD KELLOGG, Benson.

REV. ALFRED STEVENS, Westminster.

On motion of Hon. Hiland Hall, the president appointed a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, as follows : Hiland Hall, Henry Clark, Charles^r Dewey ; who reported the following list of candidates, who were duly elected :

President—WILLIAM H. LORD, D. D., Montpelier.

Vice-Presidents—HON. JAMES BARRETT, Woodstock ; Hon. HOYT H. WHEELER, Jamaica ; LUTHER L. DUTCHER, Esq., St. Albans.

Recording Secretary—HIRAM A. HUSE, Montpelier.

Corresponding Secretaries—HON. GEO. G. BENEDICT, Burlington ; ORVILLE S. BLISS, Georgia.

Treasurer—Col. HERMAN D. HOPKINS, Montpelier.

Librarian—HON. CHARLES REED, Montpelier.

Board of Curators—HENRY CLARK, Rutland ; Hon. JOHN R. CLEVELAND, Brookfield ; Hon. RUSSELL S. TAFT, Burlington ; Hon. FRANKLIN FAIRBANKS, St. Johnsbury ; Hon. E. P. WALTON, Montpelier ; M. C. EDMUNDS, M. D., Weston ; Col. KITTREDGE HASKINS, Brattleboro.

The president announced the appointment of the following standing committees :

Printing and Publishing Committee—HILAND HALL, Bennington ; E. P. WALTON, Montpelier ; CHARLES REED, Montpelier.

On Library and Cabinet—P. D. BRADFORD, Northfield ; CHARLES S. SMITH, Montpelier ; RUSSELL S. TAFT, Burlington.

On Finance—CHARLES DEWEY, Montpelier ; CHAS. REED, Montpelier ; FRANKLIN FAIRBANKS, St. Johnsbury.

Miss Abby M. Hemenway, of Burlington, in a pleasant letter, presented to the Society an autograph letter of George Washington to James Madison, dated nearly one hundred years ago, and covering four pages of letter-paper; also, two bound volumes of her *Vermont Gazetteer*. Miss Hemenway was elected an honorary member of the Society.

On motion of Hon. Hiland Hall, it was voted that Rev. Wm. H. Lord, D. D., President of the Society, be invited to prepare a paper on the "Haldimand Papers," to be read at the next meeting of the Society.

On motion of Hon. E. P. Walton, it was voted that Henry Swan Dana, of Woodstock, be invited to prepare a paper on the origin of the names of the counties and towns in Vermont.

On motion of Henry Clark, it was voted that Hon. James Barrett, of Woodstock, be invited to prepare a paper on the Life and Services of the late Hon. Loyal C. Kellogg, of Benson.

On motion of Henry Clark, it was voted that the next annual meeting be held in Rutland, on the second Tuesday in October, 1873 (provided that no session of the Legislature is convened).

On motion of Hon. Julius Converse, the Society adjourned to meet in the Representatives' Hall, at 8 o'clock P. M., to listen to the annual address by Hon. Lucius E. Chittenden, of New York.

EVENING.

The Society met in the Hall of the House of Representatives, where also assembled a large audience of ladies and gentlemen.

After prayer by Rev. Alfred Stevens, of Westminster, Rev. William H. Lord, D. D., President of the Society, in a happy and pertinent manner, introduced Hon. Lucius E. Chittenden, of New York, who proceeded to answer the question, "Who took Ticonderoga?"

It was a most interesting and thoroughly-prepared review or *resume* of the operations and events which culminated in the capture of Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen: without doubt, in the main, the most accurate presentation of the history of its capture that has ever been made, as Mr. Chittenden had omitted no research for facts bearing upon the subject. It had the close and gratified attention of the audience for nearly two hours.

At the conclusion of the address, Henry Clark offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of the Vermont Historical Society are eminently due to Hon. L. E. Chittenden for the repeated pleasure he has afforded them in listening to his able and eloquent defence of Vermont's great hero, Ethan Allen.

BIENNIAL REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN
OF THE
VERMONT
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OCTOBER 8th, 1872.

To the Vermont Historical Society:

A list of the additions to our Library for the last two years is appended, and I submit the following notes:

DIARY OF JONATHAN CARPENTER.

JONATHAN CARPENTER died at Randolph, Vt., March 14th, 1837. [See *Vt. Historical Gazetteer*, Vol. II., p. 1050.] Gen. Stephen Thomas has presented to the Society the Diary of Carpenter, kept from Sept. 5th, 1774, to Jan. 5, 1783.

From the diary it appears that Carpenter enlisted, and served out his term of enlistment, in the forces raised to oppose Great Britain, several times previous to December 13, 1777, when he went from Rehoboth, his native town, to Boston, and shipped for a cruise in the brig Reprisal, James Brown, Captain. His laconic account of his capture, copied from page 43 of the diary, is as follows:

"1778. Feb'y ye 13, in a hard gail of wind we were drove down near to ye Castle &c. & lost one of our anchors and cable & ye 15th we put to sea & having a fair wind we clawed off the coast pretty fast—but ye 19 having got across the Gulf Streem at Daylight we saw a sail which our Capt. imprudently chased for nearly tow hours, but finding his mistake Put about but she came up with us at 12 o'clock which proved to be The Unicorn a 20 gun ship in ye service of the Tyrant King of Great Briton commanded by John Ford but we are no longer our own men but have a new Master and one of Jo. Bowars's Masters I think ha. ha

After suffering the usual hardships of the prisoners to the British in prison-ships in American waters, Carpenter was transported to Portsmouth, England, and confined in Forton Prison, where his diary continues, page 46 :

"1778 ye 19th of June, we were again sent on shoar, where we were Examined, tryed & committed to Prison as Rebels & Pirates taken on the high seas it being my birth Day, the very Day I should have had my freedom, but to get clear from cruel Masters I rejoiced at an opportunity to go to prison where I found 175 Prisoners some of them had ben there a year and were in good heart but expected a long imprisonment, &c."

* * * * *

"July 24 This Day 10 of our officers made there escape, & got of clear"—

* * * * *

"July ye 30 about 12 o'clock at night we were Discovered in our work which was diging a hole to make our escape which would have ben done in 2 hours we had dug about 15 feet underground."

* * * * *

"Sept, ye 8 last night there was a breach made out of ye Prison into the highway by undermining about 35 feet underground by which about 50 officers got off, but 20 of them taken up & put into the black hole. &c. & the rest got over to France—we was kept locked up till noon & broke the dore lock and the Devil to pay and no Pitch hot."

"Dec'r ye 10. Last night 5 of our men made their escape joy go with 'em They tell us we shall soon be Exchanged but I sopose they Lie as they used to do our Money is Reduced to 1s pr week we have had 2s heretofore ever since I have bin in this troublesome scene in high life below stairs"

* * * * *

"1779 March 25 Bartholemew White a Prisoner in the yard was shot through the boddy by a Corporal of ye Guard which consists of 60 of the Westminster Melitia—he died in 24 hours after The Corporal was tryed by Jury and Cleared. Proved (but very falsely) to be an accident."

* * * * *

"April 15 last night 22 Prisoners made shift to git off through a hole which we have had in hand about 2 months but not giting completed till Daylight was the ocaation of no more going.—after wards all brought back but 2"

* * * * *

"May, 22 last night 7 Prisoners broke Prison from the grand Lobster guard at Fortin &c ha, ha, ha."

Ye 25th The Guard is releaved to-day by the Lincolnshire Melitia of 100 men.

Ye 28 The Guard is relieved by the Surry Melitia.

Ye 29th Our agent tells us that he expects the carteel in every Day (which I sopose is only to content us that we may not run away) also he has sent our Names to London for his Majestie's Pardon on which commenced a Dialogue

Prisoner—Pardon; D——n his Majesty & his Pardon too who wants any of his Pardons what murder or treason have we done Prey

Agent—Why; you impudent Rogues don't you know that you are Rebels and were committed to Prison as Pirates for Murdering & plundering his Majesty's subjects (& if we should subdue America) The Laws of Ye Nation would swing every dog of ye, and without his Majestie's most gracious Pardon you would never step a foot from this place

except it was to Tiburn or Execution-Dock which you Deserve rather than an exchange.

Prisoner—Overpower & subdue America—ah that's the least of my concern. You have not done it yet nor won't till the D—I's blind and his eyes an't sore yet and if we wait here for that our heads will be as grey as woodchucks and then 'twill be as great shame for you to hang us as it was for your troops to run through with their bayonets our inofensive aged Grand Fathers & grand Mothers who could not get out of their beds and romes but ley at your mercy beging their Lives.

Agent—when was that done.

Prisoner—When your Troops went out to Concord in April, 1775, Sir, and likewise your officers or Commander in Canada gave a bounty on Scalps to encourage ye Indians and hessians &c. to kill our harmless women and children.—this is ye bold Britous Sir

Turnkey "you lye D—n ye"—exite Agent"

* * * * *

"Fryday July ye 2nd, this morning we were called to be in readiness and in the afternoon marched off through Gosport and went on board the Milford carteel ship laying at Spit-head &c The day long wished for is come at last Huzza—I having been in Fortin Prison one year and 12 days"

* * * * *

Nov'r ye 3d I set out for Rehoboth and got home the 4th at night (it being a General fast throughout the Contineht &c) having bin gone from home two years wanting 5 weeks. JON'N CARPENTER, JR."

In 1780 Carpenter had bought land in Pomfret, Vt., and his diary reads, page 69:

"May ye 13. Then I, & David Carpenter Bargained for & bought a lot of 100 acres of Land (for 12s pr acre) of John Winchester Dana Esq. of Pomfret having travil'd about 416 miles in 21 days.

May ye 15 we began to chop and made the first stump on our land.

Ye 20th.

On our wild land we've worked a week
Have built a house that's strong & neat,
And it will serve tho' it is Low
For kitchen, hall & palace too.
Planted Potatoes corn and beans
Which some may take for foolish schemes."

* * * * *

"July ye 10th it begins to be warm weather. People are $\frac{1}{2}$ hilling I. corn—have chopt about 8 acres of own land in 6 weeks successively which has almost tired me of that fun, no wonder neither—

also we had a training at Pomfret inlisted 25 men (minute men) which will start in one Day's time in case of an Invasion (which is some expected from ye Indians)"

* * * * *

"August ye 10th this morning at 1 o'clock we were alarmed with news that ye Indians had come into Barnard and had taken 3 Men & Plundered ye houses (who were 20 indiens & tories) and went off, were followed by 50 men from Barnard but could not overtake them.

Aug't 15th I ingaged to go into ye service (for ye town of Pomfret) for 3 months—

Thursday ye 17 we marchd for Barnard from Pomfret, Esq'r Danas
to P. Perrins, - - - - - 5
Ye 18th Stebines Barnard, - - - - - 4
Ye 19th To camp at A Bicknells at Barnard - - - - - 3

(miles) - - - - - 12

Pritty level land but rockey, hemlock spruce, &c.

Aug ye 20 I went out on a scout for 2 Days up White R. as far as Rochester, thro' Stockbridge (about 20 miles) choice Land on ye River but very Mountainy back from ye river—made no Discovery of the Enemy.

Ye 25th I went out on a scout for 4 Days in company with 14 men of Barnard in Serch of some tories that have been sculking about & have taken 2 men from Weathersfield. we went up ye south Branch of White R. & over heighths of Land to Pittsford fort on Ottercrick about 30 Miles course West, some good land on ye crick and in Chittendon east of Pittsford, & came home ye 28. ye Prisoners are retaken with 2 tories at Weathersfield.

Sept. ye 21 two men were taken from their work at Bethel, by ye Enemy I had a furlough for 3 days to go to Pomfret & came back ye 24. Our fort being finished nothing Remarkable.

Ye 25 I went out on scout up white R. on ye West Branch for 3 days nothing Remarkable.

Oct. ye 3d A light snow fell about 3 inches deep, but soon gone—frost about this time whch soon strips the trees &c

Oct. 16 This morning we were alarm'd by intelligence that the enemy were burning and Plundering at Royalton, and it was supposed that ye woods were full of them I went out in a scout round ye north part of Barnard about 10 miles & in again but Discovered nothing. by this time some of ye Inhabitants had come in to the Garrison, and a party went to meet the enemy (or at Least to look for them)—at about 12 o'clock at night, I went out in a party of 11 men, with Lieut. Green, with 4 days provisions we march'd (by night) to bethel fort from whence upwards of 100 men had just gone under Capt. Safford to Royalton—

Ye 17th from thence we march'd to Col. Woodward at Middlesex [now Randolph] about 15 miles from Barnard fort & 8 from Bethel fort, (it snowed almost all Day) there we were join'd by 10 more & sot off toward ye height of Land, in hopes of coming across our main boddy and coming to a house in Middlesex, burning which we judged to have ben fired by the Enemy about 4 hours—we took their trail & followed into Brookfield & finding our men didn't follow we incamped that night, but ye Middlesex men returned back, but ye next morning ye 18th we followed on about 4 miles further onto ye heighth of Land & finding we shold not be joined by more men & our party but 14 which we thought to small a number to engage whom we judged to be 300 by ye parth they made which was very easy to follow in ye night—we left ye chace & return'd that Day to col. Woodward, (back again)—having marched over as fine level a tract of Land as I have seen in this Country. we went thro' Brookfield, Dearfield and into Northfield (light timbered with maple, Beach, Birch &c.) at Col Woodward we heard that the Enemy had burnt and Destroyd Royalton, & some houses in Sharon & Middlesex &c and have taken off upwards of 20 Prisoners and killed 7 Notwithstanding they were fired upon by ye advance guard of upward of 400 men, which indeed put them to great Confusion, but they killed 2 prisoners & fled while the cowardly Colo' House was forming his men, hooting with a mock pretence of having a field fight with Indians in the Bush, which gave them time to get off (they were commanded by one Colo' Peters a Tory)

Oct. ye 19 we returned home in peace, some moving off over Connect. River, and our savage Enemy gone with flying coulours into Canida which is a poor story for a Whig to tell.

Ye 20 We hear that the aforesaid enemy were atached [*sic.* probably detached] for Cowas after Major Whitcom &c. but find their Mistake, took it in their heads to Plague us—also that there are 1500 Indians landed from the Lake on the other side of ye Mountain and have taken fort ann &c

Ye 20 Part of ye Companies from Windsor & Woodstock Melitia joined us for 10 days

Ye 27 cool ye sun eclips'd &c

Ye 29 Melitia Dismiss'd &c

Nov. ye 1 snow fell about 4 inches D.

Ye 2nd the fort at Barnard was Christned by ye Name of Defiance We had a false alarm how the Enemy were at Grape brook, &c I went to fort fortitude at Bethel with an express &c Ye Melitia of Rockingham Dismiss'd—

Nov. 5th I went out on a scout up S. branch of White R. for 2 Days

Ye 11 Cold frozen weather. Moon Eclipsed &c.

Nov. 15 I was Dismiss'd from fort Defiance at Barnard, & sot off for Pomfret J. Dwyers 11 miles and ye 16 I sot out for Rehoboth in company with Adam Howard ”

The antiquarians of Barnard and Bethel are asked to furnish our Society with papers upon the locations and histories, for they have histories, of Fort Defiance and of Fort Fortitude.

HISTORY OF MARLBORO'.

This history, in manuscript, by Rev. Ephraim H. Newton, handsomely bound, is presented to the Society by John W. Newton, of Cincinnati, upon the terms that it shall not be taken from the rooms of the Socièty.

These terms the donor has insisted on, only to prevent the loss of what has cost himself and his father so much care and toil. The book was written for publication, and is as worthy of it as any town history we have seen. Copies can be taken by any that desire.

HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Since the last regular meeting of our Society, Collections of the Vermont Historical Society, Vol. II., has been published, and the Haldimand Correspondence has for the first time appeared in print.

From 1780 to the peace of 1783, the “Leaders of Vermont,” *not the people*, listened to the overtures of Gov. Haldimand to make a separate peace and become a British Province, *negotiated, coquetted and procrastinated*, and thus, by the only means in their power, saved the frontiers of Vermont

and New York from invasion by an overwhelming force, and their own homes from desolation.

Whether this conduct was one of the allowable stratagems of war to delay an enemy, or was with the treasonable purpose to desert the common cause of freedom from British rule, every reader can now decide for himself.

Mr. Walton was the sole editor of this part of the volume, and has illustrated these papers with a copious wealth of cotemporary history, and has shown the connection of each document with the current events of the day.

When our Society shall awake in our people and in the Legislature a proper pride in our early State history, one of the chief objects of its founders will be accomplished. And then our Society will not be a beggar for funds to print annals which no State possesses so peculiar, or more honorable. This State could hardly have treated her early history with more neglect, had she been ashamed of it.

INDIANS IN VERMONT.

It is now agreed that at the time of the first knowledge of New England by white men, the territory now called Vermont had no permanent Indian inhabitants; that it was a disputed territory, over which the Iroquois and the Huron roamed and hunted, and fought wherever they met. Each claimed it by occupancy. But here none dared to live.

The extent of this occupancy and claim is a matter upon which there is now little left to furnish light, except the local Indian names that still linger around river, mountain and place.

J. Hammond Trumbull, Hartford, Conn., is now the highest living authority upon the historical Indian of New England. In declining a request to prepare a paper upon the above sub

ject for our Society, by reason of previous engagements, he says :

"The invitation with which I am honored by your Curators, would tempt me to undertake the preparation of the paper proposed, if I thought that the materials at my command would suffice to do justice to the subject. Permit me to suggest to your Society, that it will be well to precede such a work by a careful collection of all the Indian local names which are preserved or can be recovered,—noting the forms in which they appear in the earliest record, as well as those which they now bear,—and their *traditional* meanings, when such have come down to our time. Such lists have a positive value, beyond that which is merely *local*. They are important in disposing of ethnological as well as linguistic questions. At present, I have little hesitation in saying that *no one* is competent to prepare a satisfactory paper on the Indian names of Vermont,—and as for the Indians themselves, a couple of paragraphs would dispose of them, except as their history belongs to that of the great Algonkin family."

In accordance with the suggestions of Mr. Trumbull, I have to ask our friends, in each section of the State, to send to me all the Indian names in their vicinity, and their signification, for the purpose he has indicated.

DONATION OF ELISHA HARRINGTON.

In the valuable donation to our Society by Mr. Harrington are three small volumes in the Abenaki tongue,—the Gospel of Mark, a Spelling and Reading Book, and the Decalogue, with comments on each commandment.

These books were prepared for his tribe, the St. Francis, by Rev. Peter Paul Osunkerrhine, who was educated for a missionary among his tribe at Moore's Charity School. These are the only books in that language, and Mr. Osunkerrhine assures us they are the only ones there ever will be, for the reason that the children who are now taught at all, are taught the English language, and to read in English books.

The St. Francis tribe have been deprived by legal proceedings of their lands, and are now much reduced and scattered.

And Osunkerhine, written in his native Indian Wzokhilain, is now stationed at Salamanca, Cattaraugus County, N. Y., where he ministers to about 1,500 Senecas; and from thence he has sent to our Society several sheets of hymns for religious services in his native Abenaki. These were set up and printed by himself at St. Francis, many years ago, using a little printing establishment of his own.

Mr. Harrington has also presented to the Society a history of the Abenakis in French, by Le Abbe Maurault, "From 1605 even to our time." And of the author he says: "Mr. Maurault has been the Parish Priest of the Saint Francis Indian Village about 27 years. He has in the presbytery a manuscript vocabulary of the root words of the Abenakise language, with their definitions in French, written in and about 1712, by a missionary priest, and it has not been printed. Mr. Maurault's address is Pierreville, Quebec."

COLLECTIONS OF VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY, VOL. III.

This volume can be ready for the press the ensuing winter. It will contain as full an account as can now be gathered of the proceedings and debates in the General Assembly and in the State Convention that attended the admission of Vermont into the Union, in 1790 and 1791. Ample materials, and rich in interest, have already been collected.

Respectfully submitted,

CHARLES REED, LIBRARIAN.

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED AT THE LIBRARY
OF THE
VERMONT
HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

1870 TO 1872.

BY DONATION.

HON. WM. S. APPLETON, Boston—Ancestry of Mary Oliver; Ancestry of Priscilla Baker; Memorials of the Cranes of Chilton.

HON. GEO. GRENVILLE BENEDICT, Burlington—Vermont at Gettysburg, and Appendix.

O. S. BLISS, Georgia—John White's Papers,—being a 4th of July Address, 1804, in manuscript; Essays by Tim. Scribble, in the Wanderer; 11 Autograph Letters from Hon. Asa Aldis, Hon. James Fisk, and other notable men.

Printed Address to the People of Franklin County, 1806, in regard to County Clerk.

In Memoriam, Dea. Walter Colton.

DR. P. D. BRADFORD, Northfield—Northfield Documents (3 pamphlets); Catalogues of Castleton Med. College, 1858, 1860, 1861; Address by Rev. Dr. Douglas and Poem by Rev. W. J. Harris, N. U. Commencement, July 13, 1871.

HON. L. E. CHITTENDEN, New York—Debates and Proceedings of the Peace Convention in 1861, by the donor.

Gen. J. WATTS DEPEYSTER, Tivoli, N. Y.—*La Royale*, Part 8.

JOSHUA M. DANA—*Newspapers and Manuscripts*.

Hon. GEO. F. EDMUNDS, Burlington—*President's Message and Documents, 1869-70, 1870-71* ; *Congressional Globe, 1871*, 2 vols. ; *Congressional Globe, 1870-71*, 3 vols.

JOHN C. EMERY—*Vermont Copper Coin*.

EDWARD JACOB FORSTER, M. D.—*Pedigree and Descendants of Jacob Forster, Senior, of Charlestown, Mass.*

Rev. E. T. FAIRBANKS—*Class of 1859, Yale* ; *Memoir of James K. Colby*.

GEORGE W. FOLSOM, New York—*Address by Hon. George Folsom, before New York Historical Society, 1857* ; *Address before Maine Historical Society, 1863*.

Capt. WILLIAM F. GOODWIN, Concord—*Fac-simile of Thomas Bradbury's Will, Salisbury, Mass., 1694* ; *Arms of Goodwin and Bradbury*.

Hon. HILAND HALL, North Bennington—*Early History of Vermont, interleaved and corrected by the author, October 11, 1870*.

Hon. CHARLES H. HEATH, Plainfield—*One Cent, of Liberia, 1833*.

Hon. CHARLES J. HOADLEY—*Our Family Genealogy (Morgan)* ; R. R. Hinman's *Genealogy of the Hinman Family of Connecticut* ; *Genealogical Notes of some of the first settlers of Connecticut and Massachusetts, by N. Goodwin* ; *History of Norwich, Conn., by Caulkins* ; *Specimen Sheet of Continental Money*.

CHARLES HUDSON, Lexington, Mass.—*Dedication of the Forest Memorial Hall, Lexington, April 19, 1871*.

ELISHA HARRINGTON, Coventry—*Lot of Indian Relics* ; *History of Spencer, Mass., by Draper* ; *History of the Abenakis (in French)* ; *St. Mark* ; *Spelling Book* ; *the Ten Command*

ments and Commentaries thereon, in Abenaki—the only books ever printed in that tongue ; old French coin, found at Ticonderoga ; Northern Oziris, &c.

Col. RUSH C. HAWKINS—The Hawkins Zouaves, by Whitney.

G. D. HARRINGTON, Washington, D. C.—Statistics of Population, Ninth Census.

E. P. JEWETT, Montpelier—17 numbers of the *Freeman's Press*, Montpelier, 1811.

Hon. JOHN H. B. LATROBE, Baltimore—History of Mason and Dixon's Line ; Three Great Battles ; African Colonization, an address by the donor.

JOHN S. LEE, Canton, N. Y.—Nature and Art in the Old World, by the donor.

ALPHONSE LOUBAT, New York—The American Vine Dresser's Guide.

Hon. ROSWELL MARSH, Steubenville, Ohio—American Almanac, 1839 to 1861 ; National Almanac, 1863 to 1864 ; National Intelligencer, Dec., 1828, to Dec., 1840, and from Dec., 1842, to Dec., 1860 ; Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette, 1834-7 ; Western Herald, 1830 to 1836 ; Ohio State Journal and Register, Oct., 1837, to 1857 ; Frank Leslie's Pictorial History of the War, Nos. 1 to 18 ; Vol. Pamphlet Speeches, bound ; Woodfall's Junius, 2 vols. ; Biographers of Signers of Declaration of Independence ; U. S. State Papers (Wait's edition of 1817), 10 vols. ; Niles' Register, vols. 43 to 56 ; Pitkin's Statistics ; Ohio Statistics ; U. S. Documents, 69 vols. ; McCulloch's Commercial Dictionary, 2 vols. ; Bacon's Works, 3 vols. ; Anderson on Commerce ; 27 volumes on miscellaneous subjects ; Colton's Atlas, 2 vols. ; manuscripts of the donor.

HENRY N. NEWELL, Shelburne—Original Autograph Message of Peter T. Washburn, Governor of Vermont, 1869.

JOHN W. NEWTON, Esq., Cincinnati, Ohio—Manuscript

History of the town of Marlboro, by Rev. Ephraim H. Newton.

EZRA PAINE, M. D., Montpelier—Truth Displayed, by Rev. B. A. Osborn.

J. MONROE POLAND, Montpelier—44 pamphlets.

Capt. GEO. HENRY PREBLE, Charlestown, Mass.—William Pitt Fessenden; Notes on Early Ship-building in Massachusetts; the Preble Family in America, 1636-1870.

CHARLES REED, Montpelier—Centennial Celebration, Mason, N. H.; 19 pamphlets.

THOMAS RICHMOND—God Dealing with Slavery; Spirit Messages.

E. M. STONE, Providence, R. I.—Health in the Schools.

THOMAS SPOONER, Reading, Ohio—The Spooner Memorial, by the donor.

Rev. C. S. SMITH—Report of American Home Missionary Society, 1870.

Mrs. MARY H. SAWYER, St. Albans, Vt.—Memoir of Samuel Appleton; Smith's Stranger's Guide to Liverpool; Bounty Lands, Ill., 1819; U. S. Naval Register, 1829, 1843, 1848, 1849; Green Mountain Repository, Vol. 1; Report Houghton Association; Lectures, manuscript; Addresses by Rev. Jesse Appleton, 1820; 40 other books and pamphlets.

ALFRED L. TURNER, Esq., Boston—Auditor's Report, Boston, 1870-71.

Hon. R. S. TAFT, Burlington—Seventh Annual Report of the City of Burlington.

JOSEPH A. WING, Esq., Montpelier—Noah Webster's Spelling-Book.

Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP—Oration on the 250th Anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, at Plymouth, Dec. 21, 1870.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR—Statistics of Agriculture, Ninth Census, 1870; Coast Survey, 1868.

SIGNAL OFFICE, Washington, D. C.—Reports for May 28th, 1872.

NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY—Subject Index of New York State Library ; Report of Trustees, 1872.

PENNSYLVANIA BOARD OF PUBLIC CHARITIES—Reports, 1870 and 1871.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Fifteenth Report Chicago Reform School ; Charter, Constitution and By-Laws of Chicago Historical Society ; Thirteenth Report Chicago Board of Trade.

PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Discourse on the Inauguration of the New Hall, March 11, 1872.

BY EXCHANGE.

REV. ALBERT H. BAILEY, D. D., Sheldon, Vt.—History of Protestant Episcopal Church in Vermont ; Memoir of Rev. Bethuel Chittenden.

REV. B. F. DE COSTA, New York—Mount Desert ; Report of a Visit to the Indians of Minnesota ; Report on Indian Civilization ; Fight on Diamond Island.

M. D. GILMAN, Montpelier—Suppression of Chicago Times ; Trade and Commerce of Chicago, 1861 ; the Oil Regions of the United States, 1865 ; Vermont Copper Coins.

SAMUEL A. GREENE, Boston—Boston Public Library, Dedication of the Building ; Proceedings at Laying Corner Stone, 1855 ; Report on American Fisheries, by L. Sabine ; Annals of the Primary Schools, Wightman ; Thirty-second Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of Education ; School Histories and Some Errors in them ; Story of a Famous Book ; Bibliography of Massachusetts Historical Society ; Paul Lunt's Diary.

REV. WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY, Geneva, N. Y.—Papers relating to the History of the Church in Pennsylvania, edited by

the donor ; Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Connecticut ; General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1868 ; 6 other bound volumes ; 96 pamphlets.

Rev. E. F. SLAFTER, Boston—History of Lower Canada, by Christie, 6 vols. ; Vermont Coinage.

Rev. JOSIAH SWETT, Fairfax—10 bound vols. of newspapers ; American State Papers, 5 vols. ; 13 bound volumes ; 60 pamphlets.

CANADA—Geological Survey, 1866–9, 1 vol.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY—Reports of Trustees, 1869, 1870.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY—New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 1870 ; Twenty-fifth Anniversary Discourse, by E. F. Slafter.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Collections, vol. 2.

DELAWARE HISTORICAL SOCIETY—History, Constitution, By-Laws and Catalogue.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Wilde's Summer Rose ; Constitution, By-Laws, &c.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—25 pamphlets.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Historical Collections, vol. ix. 4th series, and vol. i. 5th series.

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Collections, vol. 7 ; History of First Presbyterian Church in Newark, N. J. ; History of the same in Cadwell, N. J. ; Report of the Chicago Relief Fund.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Proceedings from Jan., 1847, to Dec. 2, 1849, 17 numbers ; Historical Collections for 1868, 1869, 1870.

HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO—Pioneer History ; Lives of the Early Settlers of Ohio ; Geological Survey, 1869, 1870 ; 17 pamphlets.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Washington's Private Diary ; Early Voyages to America ; 4 pamphlets.

WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Historical Collections, volume 6.

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All donations of Books, Pamphlets, or Newspapers, should be addressed to HON. CHARLES REED, Montpelier.

THE CAPTURE OF TICONDEROGA.

ANNUAL ADDRESS

BEFORE THE

VERMONT

HISTORICAL SOCIETY

DELIVERED AT

MONTPELIER, VT.,

ON TUESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 8, 1872.

By Hon. LUCIUS E. CHITTENDEN.

THE following Joint Resolution was adopted by the Senate and House of Representatives, at their biennial session, 1872 :

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and hereby is, directed to procure the printing of twenty-five hundred copies of the valuable and instructive address of the Hon. L. E. CHITTENDEN before the Vermont Historical Society, for the use of the General Assembly ; that there be furnished to each member of the Senate and House of Representatives, three copies ; to each Town Clerk, one copy ; to each college and academy in this State, one copy ; to each Judge of the Supreme Court, one copy ; to the Governor, and each of the heads of departments, one copy ; to the State Library, two hundred copies ; and to the Vermont Historical Society, five hundred copies ; such number of copies as shall remain after distribution as above, to be equally divided between the public libraries of the State, not otherwise supplied by this resolution, under the direction of the State Librarian.

The following letter was addressed to the Hon. L. E. Chittenden :

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE SENATE, }
MONTPELIER, VT., Oct. 16, 1872. }

Dear Sir : By a Joint Resolution adopted by the Senate and House of Representatives, I am directed to procure the printing of the valuable and instructive address delivered by you before the Vermont Historical Society, at its annual meeting, at Montpelier, on the 8th instant.

I would respectfully ask that you furnish me with a copy of said address for publication.

I am, Sir, your very obedient servant,

M. B. CARPENTER, *Secretary of the Senate.*

To which the following reply was received :

25 WEST 38TH STREET, NEW YORK, Nov. 13, 1872.

My Dear Sir : I have received your note of the 16th ult., inclosing a copy of a Joint Resolution of the Legislature of Vermont, and requesting for publication a copy of my recent address before the Vermont Historical Society.

Although this address was prepared with no purpose of immediate publication, I do not feel at liberty to decline a request preferred in such courteous terms, which, perhaps, indicates an opinion of the Legislature that the paper may have some permanent value. I have the pleasure of complying with it, and transmit the copy, which you will receive with this letter.

Very truly, yours,

L. E. CHITTENDEN.

M. B. CARPENTER, Esq.,

Secretary of the Senate, Montpelier, Vt.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE following paper was read before the Vermont Historical Society, at a special meeting of its members, held at Ticonderoga, on the 18th of June, 1872, and was repeated, at the request of the Society, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, in Montpelier, on the 8th of the following October. In order to preserve the address in its original form, those portions which indicate its delivery on the ground where the events transpired, to which it refers, have not been changed, and it is now printed as first prepared. It was intended to print the letters and documents which are referred to, in full; but these are so numerous that only a few of the more important have been retained. But reference is made to all, and the effort has been made to refer the reader to the depositaries of all the known material evidence which bears upon the capture of Ticonderoga, in May, 1775.

The unwearied industry and perseverance of Mr. FORCE has brought many of these documents together in that monument of his research known as "The American Archives." To avoid frequent repetition of the title, unless special indication to the contrary is given, reference is made to the *Second Volume of the Fourth Series of the American Archives*, by the use, in the notes, of Mr. Force's name, without other addition.

ADDRESS.

TICONDEROGA—The lock to the Gate of the Country. It bars the entrance to the natural highway of Champlain, over which for generations swept the bloody tide of unrelenting war—a war so ancient that, when the white man first came thither, he found no living man who could tell of its beginning,—so continuous that its reflux wave rarely ceased its flow, until, one hundred and fifty years later, the great families who waged it had vanished from the earth, and peace spread her silvery wings over a new nation, celebrating its victory around the first altar of freedom erected on American shores.

Nature chooses all the theatres upon which the nations settle their controversies by the arbitrament of battle. They are few in number and limited in area. The plains of Greece, Northern Italy, the shores of the Rhine, the valleys of lower Virginia!—how many battles they have witnessed, what countless multitudes of warriors they have entombed! But not one of them has been the scene of war so prolonged, continuous, savage and cruel as that which ended with the Peace of Paris, which for centuries before had raged in the valley of Lake Champlain.

Its commencement was prehistoric. When, in 1609, the French explorer first undertook to penetrate this wilderness, the Indians of Canada told him it was the home of their hereditary enemies. Champlain gives us one glance at their fierce

encounters, and the curtain falls for almost fifty years; though behind its folds we may still hear the war cry of the Savage and the shriek of his tortured prisoner. Then follows another century, the few but vivid records of which are gleaned from the relations of the Jesuit Fathers, whose history in New France is a marvel of missionary self-sacrifice and devotion. Finally, the contest becomes known as the French and Indian war, and thenceforward we have its written history.

The frontier which separated these two great aboriginal families was nearly coincident with that between the United States and Canada. The valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa comprised numerous tribes of brave, muscular, athletic warriors, who, for want of a better term, may be called Algonkins. Farther west, extending to the great lakes, lived the powerful Hurons, their friends and allies. Their enemies were the Iroquois, whose hunting grounds extended from the western slope of the Green Mountains to the southern shore of Lake Ontario. Their principal villages were in Central New York, in a line extended west from the south end of Lake George. History gives no account of a native race, surpassing the Iroquois in all the qualities which constitute the savage ideal of physical perfection. They were tall and erect in stature, their limbs were as active and strong as those of the trained athlete. It was their chief pride, next to skill and courage in battle, that they were insensible to pain, fatigue and hunger. The business of their lives was war against their northern enemies. To this they were educated from infancy. Their sports as well as their labors tended to their physical development. In their education nothing was omitted which could make them cruel, proud and brave, superior to physical hardship, insensible to tortures such as could only be devised by savage ingenuity. They constituted a great power among the native families. On the west, they conquered and annihilated the Erie nation, and swept

over western Pennsylvania to the mountains of Virginia. On the north, they maintained unconquered a war of two hundred years. On the east, their neighbors sought safety in peace. No confederacy of native tribes, equally powerful, ever existed between the Atlantic and the Mississippi.

As in all wars, the fortunes of this sanguinary contest were variable. In the early part of the seventeenth century, victory appears to have been with the northern tribes, for they forced the Iroquois back from the outlet of Lake Champlain to the head waters of the Hudson. From this position the Iroquois villages were never again advanced. The Champlain valley was left a broad frontier, over which invading parties passed, and upon which they met in fierce encounter. In the absence of Indian towns, it became a nursery for game, through which the larger animals roamed in countless numbers. The reason is thus apparent why so few remains of Indian towns are found in western Vermont, and why the evidences of aboriginal occupation indicate routes or war paths instead of local stations.

Champlain made two visits to this valley, upon each occasion in company with a war party. Arrived at Quebec in 1609, he made an engagement with the Algonkins, that they should assist his discoveries in the country of the Iroquois, if he would assist them in their war "against that fierce people, who spared nothing that belonged to them."⁽¹⁾ In the singularly minute and truthful relation of his first expedition, he records the first meeting in this region between the opposing forces of barbarism and civilization. It occurred on the northern extremity of Crown Point, on the 29th of July, two hundred and sixty-three years ago.

The parties were large—the battle fierce—its fortunes wavering, when it was decided by the arquebuss of Champlain—the first report of a fire-arm which awoke the echoes of that valley.

⁽¹⁾ Champlain's Voyages, Ed. 1632, p. 134.

Before it, two Iroquois chiefs fell dead, a third mortally wounded. From the presence of a power to them supernatural, their warriors fled in terror, leaving a number of prisoners in the hands of Champlain's party. A new force had been introduced into their warfare, which in the end was to destroy both opposing parties. That night, on the Vermont shore, a few miles north of the battle-ground, they sacrificed a prisoner with tortures such as none but American Indians ever conceived.

There was a singular synchronism in the march of civilization upon both extremes of this great route of communication. In the same summer of Champlain's discovery, Hudson sailed up the river which bears his name. The French settlements at Montreal, and the Dutch at Albany, began at the same time and advanced with equal steps. These controlled the fortunes of the war. But the motives which brought the two nations hither were widely different. The conversion of the Indians to Catholicism invited the French; trade impelled the Dutch. It was the policy of the former to prevent the introduction of fire-arms, of the latter to encourage them. The effect was quickly apparent. The Iroquois, no longer content with resisting invasion, became invaders. I have not the time even to sketch the course of this war movement from 1635 to the end of that century. During that period, there was probably not a year in which a war party did not pass down the lake to Canada, and often a dozen were absent from their villages at the same time. They lay in ambush along the St. Lawrence, and returned triumphant with their spoils and prisoners. It was during this period that Father *Jogues* and other French missionaries, with numerous Algonkin converts, were carried up the lakes to the Iroquois towns, where they found their crowns of martyrdom with all its surroundings of savage cruelty.

At length the Canadian Indians and French were threatened with annihilation. To save their own lives, the French were

driven to take part in the war. They armed the Indians, led their expeditions, and checked the Iroquois in their tide of victory. The southern tribes sought the same assistance from their English neighbors. The war was prosecuted by alternate invasions, until finally the quarrel merged in the great contest between the trans-Atlantic powers of England and France. Thenceforward, with seasons of peace on the Eastern Continent, the war here was almost continuous.

In all this warfare, Crown Point and Ticonderoga were the chief objective points. The temptation is strong to linger over its details, for its complete history has never been written, and we have not even a list of its battles. But I cannot even refer to all the events of the twenty years preceding the peace of Paris, which are necessary to illustrate the military importance of these positions, and to understand their connection with our own Revolution.

The final contest between the two great powers of Europe, for the control of the Champlain valley, became energetic in the year 1755. The English and the colonists had learned by a bloody experience that there could be no peace here until the French were driven from Crown Point and Ticonderoga, which they held with great tenacity as the initial stations of their barbarous incursions. Gen. William Johnson, in this year, undertook their capture, with an army of thirty-five hundred New England militia. The attempt was fruitless, though the fighting qualities of the colonists secured enough successes of the British arms, near Lake George, to make their commander a baronet. Had he exhibited capacity to command, the French might have been swept from this quarter in a single campaign. It was his fault that for many years "these forests were never free from secret dangers, and American scalps were strung together by the wakeful savage, for the adornment of his wigwam."⁽²⁾

⁽²⁾ Bancroft, iv. p. 208.

The French made active preparation for defense. They called to this frontier the entire available force of the District of Montreal. By the end of August, when Johnson's army had reached Lake George, Dieskau, the French commander, had gathered here seven hundred regulars, sixteen hundred Canadians and six hundred savages. The impetuous Frenchman did not wait for an attack. Dashing forward to strike his inactive adversary, he mistook his route, and on the 7th of September found himself between Fort Edward and Lake George. He was just in time to form an ambush for a thousand colonists, who had been sent under Col. Ephraim Williams to relieve Fort Edward. Among the latter was the brave and venerable Hendrick, chief of the Six Nations, with two hundred of his braves. Led into the ambush, surrounded by invisible foes, defense was impossible, and Hendrick and Williams fell, with many of their men. Whiting, of Connecticut, extricated the remainder of the force, and with it retreated to Johnson's camp, fighting every step of the way.

The camp was not intrenched. Dieskau, whose motto was, "Boldness wins," dashed on, hoping to enter the camp with the fugitives. But he mistook the temper of the New England militia. Though abandoned by their commander, who left the field with the excuse of a slight wound at the commencement of the action, these marksmen of the woods not only checked the French assault, but for five hours poured into their ranks such a withering fire as they had never before encountered. The French regulars were annihilated. The Indians and Canadians, crouching in the bushes, kept out of the range of the fire. At length the Americans rushed over their slight works, and put the whole French army to flight. A French renegade wantonly shot down their intrepid and thrice-wounded commander. Among the privates of the American army in this action were Israel Putnam, of Connecticut, and John Stark, of New Hampshire.

The battle did not end with the fall of Dieskau. A body of three hundred New Hampshire men, commanded by McGinnis, crossing from the fort to the lake, just at nightfall, fell in with three hundred Canadians who were retreating in a body, attacked and dispersed them, capturing all their baggage. The victory was an expensive one, for it cost the life of their brave commander.

Instead of following up an enemy no longer capable of resistance, and capturing the forts here and at Crown Point, Johnson took his army to the foot of Lake George, and wasted the autumn in building a wooden fort, subsequently known as Fort William Henry. The French, whose power of recuperation, then as now, exceeded that of any other nation, profited by his inaction to fortify themselves at Ticonderoga. We shall see, hereafter, how costly to the American Colonies was this introduction of the waiting policy in war.

Although the year 1756 passed without any general engagement, almost every week witnessed a scout, an ambush, or a skirmish. The main body of the Americans remained near Fort William Henry, where, about the first of July, Shirley, who had succeeded Johnson, gave up the command to Abercrombie. During this summer, Montcalm arrived from France, hastened to this place, and assumed command of an army of about five thousand men. He did not here enter upon any active operations against the English; but, having made himself familiar with the locality, and greatly improved its defenses, hurried to Oswego, which, by an energetic attack, he captured. This year was signalized by the commencement of operations by the Rangers, under Rogers and Stark, who were constantly engaged in annoying the enemy and cutting off his detached parties. In the French market, English scalps produced sixty livres, or about twelve dollars, each; and English prisoners found a ready sale, in Canada, at sixty crowns.⁽⁹⁾

⁽⁹⁾ I. Rogers' Journal, pp. 13-17.

The year 1757 is a noted one in the history of the valleys of Lakes George and Champlain. The Rangers held Fort William Henry through the winter, whence they kept up a succession of attacks upon the French. On the 15th of January, Stark and Rogers, with fifty privates, went from Fort Edward to William Henry, where they were joined by thirty-two officers and men. They proceeded down the lake, and flanking this place, struck Lake Champlain about midway between Ticonderoga and Crown Point. There they attacked a convoy of provisions, coming to this place on sledges. It was a successful, though rash act, for there were four times their number of Frenchmen in their rear. Learning from their prisoners the number of men at the two forts, Stark and Rogers at once set out on their return. Within a half mile of the shore, two hundred and fifty French and Indians fell upon them. Undismayed by superior numbers, they fought their way back to Lake George, and finally reached Fort William Henry, after a week's absence, and the loss of one-third of their party.⁽⁴⁾

The French retaliated. In March, a party of fifteen hundred, under the command of Vaudreuil, made the march from this place on snow-shoes, drawing their provisions on sleds, and attacked Fort William Henry, hoping to carry it by surprise. They were not successful, and were compelled to retire, after burning a few boats, some outbuildings, and inflicting other slight injuries upon the Americans.

A change in the character of this warfare, was now impending. The skillful, brave and energetic Montcalm assumed command of the French, and at once prepared for offensive operations. He began by thoroughly arousing the passions of thirty-three Indian tribes, which had been collected by the French Governor at Montreal. He secured their confidence,

⁽⁴⁾ Rogers' Journal, p. 44.

by joining in their dances, singing their war songs, and they placed themselves unreservedly under his direction. With their excitement at the highest point, he set out with them for Ticonderoga. He reached this fort with the largest Indian war party ever collected upon the lake, numbering more than two hundred canoes. The precise number of men he collected here and at Crown Point, we do not know; but it more than four times outnumbered the American army to which it was opposed. Montcalm spent but little time in preparation,—long enough, however, to send out a scouting party toward Fort Edward, which returned with forty-two fresh-torn American scalps, and only one prisoner. These trophies excited the Indians to frenzy. Montcalm restrained them with difficulty. On the 24th July, twenty barges of Americans, under Colonel Parker, appeared on the lake. The Indians rushed upon them, took one hundred and sixty prisoners, killed and dispersed the rest of the force. The succeeding ten days were filled with events which I must pass over.

It must suffice to say, that on the second of August, Montcalm, with an army of eight thousand French and Indians, had surrounded Fort William Henry, defended by less than five hundred men within the fort, and seventeen hundred intrenched around it.

You know what a bloody tragedy ensued; how the gallant Monroe, who had only reached the fort the day previous, answered the summons to surrender with defiance; how for five days he held the place against the assailing host of mad devils, directed by French genius, while the pusillanimous Webb, with an army of five thousand men, lay trembling at Fort Edward, and answered his demands for assistance by advice to capitulate; how, when aware that Webb's letter had been intercepted by Montcalm, who thus knew that all his hope of help was cut off, he would not treat until half his guns were burst,

and his ammunition was exhausted ; how Montcalm, generous to so brave an enemy, granted him the liberal terms of marching his men, with their arms and baggage, under an escort to the nearest fort ; how, after the surrender, the gallant Frenchman more than once periled his life to keep his agreement ; and, finally, how his savage allies swung the relentless tomahawk against their defenseless prisoners, until they had reduced the army to a herd of six hundred fugitives under the sheltering guns of Fort Edward ! It was, indeed, a bloody scene—too awful for description—the most cruel and devilish which these valleys, the battle-ground of centuries, have ever witnessed !⁽⁵⁾

This campaign well nigh extinguished the English power on this frontier,—for, if Webb did not give up Fort Edward, it was because he was not attacked in his paralysis of fear. This shameful result was due not less to the cowardice of the English commanders, than to the dashing bravery of Montcalm. The Rangers alone declined to participate in the general trepidation. They hurried forward to the bloody ground, some of them within twenty-four hours of the massacre, and until the next spring, by a series of well-directed attacks, were a constant annoyance to the enemy.

A change in the British Ministry, which brought Mr. Pitt into the Cabinet, put new energy into the prosecution of the war in America, and, from the year 1758, affairs in the colonies began to assume a more favorable aspect. But, while British arms were everywhere else triumphant, the day of disaster in this quarter had not yet closed. In the season of 1758, three expeditions were undertaken against the French. One resulted in the capture of Louisburg ; another in that of Fort du Quesne. We are concerned only with the third—the largest, the most promising—the only one unsuccessful.

⁽⁵⁾ See Appendix 1.

The enthusiasm of the colonies, animated by the spirit of the home government, by the first of July, had collected upon the banks of Lake George the most numerous, best equipped, and most effective army theretofore mustered on American soil. It was composed of nine thousand Provincials, sixty-five hundred British regulars and six hundred rangers. Abercrombie was nominally at the head of the force, but its real commander was the young, brave and popular Lord Howe.

At early dawn, on the fifth of July, these soldiers, sixteen thousand in number, folded their tents and launched themselves on the placid bosom of Lake St. Sacrament. Their movement required a thousand boats, exclusive of the rafts which floated their artillery. The glorious pageant, decked with waving banners, cheered by the strains of martial music, moved slowly down the lake. As the rays of the morning sun flashed from their glistening bayonets and lit up the contrast between the scarlet uniforms of the regulars and the wealth of green in which the wilderness was clothed,—as their oars, with measured stroke, broke the surface of that lovely sheet of water, its lofty shores towered above such a military display as they never saw before—may never witness again. The living poem was complete, when, as the shades of evening fell, just beyond the place where the mountain slope descends below the surface of the waters, on a point named after the quiet of the Sabbath day, they landed and spread their couches for a few hours' repose.

The enemy they were moving to attack would have made a sorry show in the pageantry of war. In numbers it did not exceed thirty-seven hundred men. But they had been trained to war, and they were commanded by a master who knew how to avail himself of all his resources. He was even able to transfuse into each soldier enough of his own untiring activity to more than double his ordinary military value. On yonder

height, he had built Fort Carillon. On the east, south and south-west, it was defended by the lake and river. On the north was a swamp, wet and impassable. There was only a space, a little more than a half mile broad, which Nature had left undefended; and across this he stretched, behind earthworks, his main line of defense.

Nor was this all. You need not read history to learn how the active Frenchman protected the approaches to his main line, for his works, now, after the lapse of more than a century, are nearly as perfect as they were the night before the battle. About a half mile in front of the narrowest neck of the peninsula, is a low ridge, sloping from the river towards the lake. Along this ridge he threw up a heavy earthwork, defended in front by a deep-dug ditch. Along the banks of the river and swamp, connecting this work with his main line, were small earth forts, which effectually defended him against an attack in flank. In front of the ridge, for the distance of a musket range, the trees had been felled with their tops outward, forming an abbatis, which was well nigh impassable. Still further up, at the river crossing, was a strong natural position, from which the river rounded northward to the landing like a bow, of which the road represents the string, intersecting the river a little below the head of the portage. The river crossing was held by three French regiments, with their pickets thrown forward to the landing; and a body of three hundred men, under Trapezec, was advanced into the woods on the western shore of Lake George.

Montcalm determined, early in the campaign, to fight the English at Ticonderoga. On the day an enemy of four times his strength was moving to attack him, he wrote to the Governor of Canada: "I have chosen to fight them on the heights of Carillon; and I shall beat them there, if they give me time to gain the position."⁽⁶⁾ Montcalm commanded savages, and

(6) IV. Bancroft, p. 208.

caused massacres ; but he was a brave soldier, and a true man cannot now write his name without a thrill of admiration.

Before midnight of the fifth, the English moved from Sabbath Day Point to a cove, about a mile above the outlet, protected by a point, which that morning took the name of Lord Howe. There they landed, and forming in four columns, began their march. As soon as they had left Sabbath Day Point, Montcalm ordered all his forces, which had been thrown out in advance, back into their intrenchments in front of Carillon. All obeyed except the detachment of Trapezec, which, falling back from its position on the western shore of the lake, lost its way, and for some hours wandered in the woods in search of the road across the portage. Meantime, the English were moving slowly forward, their columns jostling against each other, upon the rough ground, in the morning twilight. Near the outlet of Trout Brook, the right centre, commanded by Lord Howe, came in contact with Trapezec's party. Although they fought bravely, they were struck and crushed in a moment. It was an accidental skirmish, but one of those accidents which decide the fortunes of a campaign, for it cost the life of the gallant nobleman in command, who fell at the head of his column.

The fall of Lord Howe was the ruin of the expedition. With his death, order vanished—the *morale* of the army was destroyed. There was no force threatening his immediate front, and yet Abercrombie fell back to the landing, and thus gave Montcalm the precious hours he needed to complete his preparations.

I pass over details. On the morning of the eighth, the French commander was ready. Every man was in his station behind intrenchments, which the practiced eyes of Stark, and even some of the English officers, saw were too formidable to be carried by assault. Like Braddock, Abercrombie would

not be advised by backwoodsmen. He moved in three columns straight on the centre of the French works. Braver men never rushed upon their fate ; never was defence more successful. For three full hours, the grenadiers and the Highlanders hurled themselves against the wall of fire, only to be beaten back, and again to dash forward. Every point in the intrenchments was assaulted. Now they sought to turn the French left. The omnipresent Montcalm met them with his best men. They crowded around his right,—Montcalm was there to face them ! Did an officer fall in the centre,—Montcalm was in presence until his place was supplied ! The English did not make an impression even on the exterior line. The work was too close for artillery, but swivels and small arms condensed their discharges into a continuous roar, pouring a shower of leaden hail into an enemy at times not fifteen paces from their muzzles. But human energy could not achieve impossibilities. At length, beaten back at every point ; entangled in the brushwood and fallen timber ; melting, like a snow in June, before the withering fire ; the English became so bewildered as to fire into each other. Abercrombie had hidden away where he could not be found. It was six o'clock in the evening, when two thousand men, the flower of the army, lay dead or wounded in front of the intrenchments, that the order was given for retreat, which, in a few moments, became flight in promiscuous disorder.

Had Howe lived, or Stark commanded, the English might have been rallied at the landing ; their artillery have been placed on Mount Defiance, which they still held, and the French have been shelled out of their works. But Abercrombie was thoroughly beaten ; and he gave no rest to his feet until he had placed the length of Lake George between himself and an enemy not strong enough to pursue him. He did not feel entirely safe until he had sent his artillery and ammunition to Albany.

During the remainder of the season, the French were alert, the English inactive. There were numerous skirmishes in which the French were usually victors. Putnam was captured, and only saved from the stake by the interference of a French officer. November brought Amherst, the conqueror of Louisburg; and when he assumed the command the long season of English disaster came to an end. "Abercrombie went home to England; was secured from censure, maligned the Americans, and afterwards assisted in Parliament to tax the witnesses of his pusillanimity."⁽⁷⁾

Successful as this campaign had been, it was the last substantial effort of the French to maintain their supremacy here. The vigilance of the English cruisers made reinforcements from France impossible, and the ceaseless activity of Montcalm had exhausted Canada of supplies and men. He wrote to his home government, that, without external assistance, Canada must fall; and his words were prophetic. The winter of 1758-9 brought its annual crop of scouts and skirmishes, which settled nothing. On the fifth of March, Rogers with three hundred and fifty men, came down to Sabbath Day Point, where, leaving a part of his force, he crossed South Bay to the eastern shore of Lake Champlain, and opposite Ticonderoga attacked and dispersed a working party of the enemy. He was pursued by two hundred and thirty French and Indians, a mile and a half, to a favorable position, where he gave battle, and defeated them. He then, with trifling loss, made his way back to Fort Edward.⁽⁸⁾ The place of this fight cannot be definitely fixed from the account given by Rogers.

On the 21st of July, Amherst, having collected an army of eleven thousand men, passed down Lake George and landed on the eastern shore, near the outlet. Halting his main body, he sent forward a party of Rangers under Rogers, who attacked

⁽⁷⁾ IV. Bancroft, 309.

⁽⁸⁾ Rogers' Journal 129 to 134.

the French at the mills, drove them out, and held the position. The army then proceeded to invest Ticonderoga. The heroic Montcalm, who never recoiled in the presence of an enemy, was no longer here. He was on the Heights of Abraham, gathering up the last remnants of Canadian strength, to meet, not his master, but his peer, in a struggle in which both were doomed to fall. The siege here, began. For two days the French kept up a constant fire of cannon upon the English. But during the day of the 24th, the Rangers dragged three boats across the portage into Lake Champlain, intending to cut away the boom to the eastern shore, in order that the English boats might pass the fort, and cut off the French retreat. Before this could be accomplished, about nine o'clock in the evening of the 26th, the French sprung their mines, blew up the fort, rushed to their boats, and hastily retreated toward Crown Point. Rogers, with his Rangers, dashed upon them from the Vermont shore, and captured ten boats with fifty barrels of powder and a large quantity of baggage and supplies.

Amherst was slow and cautious. Instead of following up the French, he halted his army, and began to repair the fort. The Rangers were constantly scouting in the direction of the enemy. On the first of August, one of their parties returned with news that the French had abandoned Crown Point, without waiting to destroy it, and retreated down the lake. The lilies of France had floated over these waters for the last time.

The French retired to Isle Aux Noix, which they held with a force of thirty-five hundred men. Amherst remained here until October, engaged in fitting out a naval force, with which he intended to drive the enemy from the lake. When he finally moved, the weather was stormy, and winter was at hand. He succeeded in destroying the enemy's vessels at the north end of the lake, and then returned here into winter quarters.

Meantime, Rogers, with his Rangers had been sent upon an

expedition, which for its perseverance through hardship and privation, deserves a more full description than it can have in this connection. The Indians at the Trois Rivières had long ravaged the northern frontiers with impunity, and Rogers undertook to chastise them for their savage barbarities. Leaving Crown Point on the 12th of September, he went to Missisquoi Bay, where, concealing his boats and provisions, he pushed forward his expedition. On the following day, he was overtaken by the guards left to watch the boats, with information that a party of four hundred French and Indians had captured his boats, and were following him in hot pursuit. Without halting, he detached a party and sent it back to Amherst, with directions to send provisions across the mountains to the mouth of White River, by which route he promptly determined to return. Outmarching his pursuers, he reached the Indian village on the 4th of October, and found the Indians engaged in a scalp dance. The sight of some hundreds of American scalps, displayed on poles, did not greatly dispose the hearts of the Rangers to mercy. Adopting the Indian practice, they attacked the village in the gray of the morning, and out of three hundred savages, slew two hundred and captured twenty. Returning by the Coos route, after great suffering and almost in a starving condition, Rogers and his party finally reached Crown Point with a loss of three officers and forty-six men.⁽⁹⁾

There was little fighting in this quarter during the next campaign—that of 1760. An expedition, under Haviland, moved down Lake Champlain, driving the French before it, with trifling resistance at Isle Aux Noix and St. Johns, until it met an army under Amherst, which came through Lake Ontario, down the St. Lawrence, and halted in front of Montreal. An army from Quebec had also reached the same point. The conquest of Canada was now completed. Montreal surrendered,

⁽⁹⁾ Marault, *Histoire des Abenakis*, p. 489.

and thenceforward, until the peace of 1763, these solitudes were no longer vexed by savage or civilized warfare.

Ticonderoga next demands our attention in its relation to our own Revolution. It was the first fortified position won from British arms—its capture made revolution a necessity and independence sure. Vermonters maintain now, as they always have maintained, that this fort was captured by the Green Mountain Boys, commanded by their trusted leader, Ethan Allen. Within a few years, this claim has been questioned. The glory of this achievement has been sought to be awarded to an abandoned traitor. Without questioning the motives or the research of the advocates of Benedict Arnold, let us try here, to-day, upon the very ground itself, to put to rest finally and forever, the question—

WHO TOOK TICONDEROGA?

This question ought to be settled by evidence cotemporary with the act. Such evidence is subject to the legal rule, which makes admissible the acts and declarations of the parties immediately concerned, which, though subsequent to the capture, are so directly connected with it as to constitute a part of the *res gestæ*. When this evidence is all brought together and properly weighed, it is not impossible that doubts, which have been suggested by an imperfect examination of the subject, will disappear.

Let us first briefly notice one or two conditions applicable to this evidence.

The earnest controversy which had long existed between the settlers of the New Hampshire Grants and the leading officials of New York, not always free from scenes of violence and blood, some years before the battle of Lexington, had called into existence, upon the Grants, an effective military organization known by the name of the Green Mountain Boys. Many of these settlers were old soldiers, who became acquainted with the attractions of the country when they were Provincials or Rangers, under Putnam, Stark and Rogers. Their colonel and leader was Ethan Allen. They were formed into a regiment as early as 1771. We can now trace the existence of five companies, each formed in its own locality, and there were doubtless others. Seth Warner was captain of the Bennington company, which was organized in 1764.⁽¹¹⁾ Remember Baker was captain of the company raised in Arlington; Robert Cochran of the Rupert company, and Gideon Warren of that raised in Sunderland and vicinity.⁽¹²⁾ Another, raised near the New York line, was commanded by Dr. Ebenezer Marvin, of Stillwater.⁽¹²⁾ These and other companies were well equipped, officered and drilled. They knew the value of discipline and prompt obedience. They were raised, not for holiday display, but to defend their homes and property. The promptness with which they obeyed the call of their leaders is illustrated in the pursuit and rescue of Baker from his captors, in March, 1772.

Having no legally organized government, these settlers gave the direction of their civil affairs into the hands of small body of their wisest men, which was first known as the "Grand Committee," and later, as "The Council of Safety." This body exercised all the executive powers of a State government, for many years. Its sessions were frequent; and, before the Revolution, were usually held at Bennington. It is safe to say,

⁽¹¹⁾ Hemmenway's Gazetteer, Vol. I., p. 143.

⁽¹¹⁾ Ira Allen's Hist. Vt., p. 26.; Hall's Early Hist. Vt., pp. 128-137.

⁽¹²⁾ Hemmenway's Gaz., Vol. II., Tit. Franklin.

that in the year 1775, the Grants had as efficient a civil government as any of the colonies ; and, assuredly, no colony had a more thorough military organization. In the light of these well authenticated facts, the evidence bearing upon the question before us must be considered. It is obvious that they will exercise considerable influence upon its solution.

With few exceptions, these settlers were New England men—attached to her institutions, intrenched in her habits—warm disciples of the doctrine of self-government. The same fuel which fed the fires of liberty in Faneuil Hall was abundant on the Grants. We shall see hereafter that the call for resistance to oppression nowhere met with a more hearty, unanimous response than from the pioneers among the Green Mountians.

It was to such a people, *thus organized*, that John Brown, of Pittsfield, came, late in February, 1775, on his way to Canada. On the 15th of that month, the Congress of Massachusetts, impressed with the necessity of keeping the Canadians and Indians neutral, if they could not be won to the popular cause in the struggle which they knew was near ; by resolution, directed their committee to open a correspondence to that end. The committee sent Mr. Brown upon the mission, and furnished him with letters and documents to promote his success. Pittsfield was not a half day's ride from Bennington, where Allen lived and the Grand Committee held its sessions. It was the principal town upon the great route of emigration to the Grants. Its patriotic minister bore Allen's name, and was his friend. Communication between these two towns was frequent, and the condition of affairs upon the Grants must have been well known to Brown and his neighbors. He acted promptly upon that knowledge. He delayed long enough to visit Albany, and put himself in communication with Dr. Young, and then took the shortest route, across the Grants, to Canada. It was a part of his business to "establish a reliable

means of communication *through the Grants*." That he was in close relations with the leaders, we know, for one of them became his guide to Canada. This was Peleg Sunderland,^[13] one of the eight whom the officials of New York had outlawed and condemned to death, without the trouble of arrest, or the expense of a trial. He was sent to inform himself of the feeling of the people, and he must have met Colonel Allen, consulted with the Grand Committee, and have known of the organization, for he declares that the Green Mountain Boys *had undertaken* to capture Ticonderoga. Satisfied with the condition of affairs on the Grants, he forced his way through many difficulties to Canada, made use of his two companions, one of whom had been a captive among them, to win over the Indians, and having executed his mission, on the 29th of March, writes an account of it, from Montreal, to Dr. Warren and Samuel Adams, the Massachusetts Committee, and, as if he were making a new and important suggestion, brought to his notice while on the Grants, says—

"One thing I must mention, to be kept a profound secret. The fort at *Ticonderoga* must be seized as soon as possible, should hostilities be committed by the King's troops. The people on the New Hampshire Grants *have engaged to do this business*; and, in my opinion, they are the most proper persons for this job. This will effectually curb this province, and all the troops that may be sent here."^[14]

A moment's reflection makes the fact evident that the proposal to capture Ticonderoga probably came to Brown from, and was not by him suggested to, the people of the Grants. He communicated it to the Massachusetts Congress as a proper thing to be done, *because* he supposed it had not occurred to them. He wrote the letter after he had had an interview with the Vermonters, in which they "engaged to do this business." Had Brown thought of it *before* he visited the Grants, he would probably have spoken of it to his associates, and there would

^[13] App. No. 3.

^[14] App. No. 4.

have been no necessity for this communication. Which is the more probable, that the Vermonters, who lived in the vicinity, on an exposed frontier, which would be protected by the capture—who knew that Ticonderoga was the very “Gate of the Country” (and the only one), through which a hostile expedition from Canada could enter it—many of whom had been fighting through half a dozen campaigns to take it, should have been impressed with the necessity to themselves, as well as the colonies, of surprising these forts before they were reinforced, and should have seized the first opportunity through Brown of making its value known to the other colonies; or that Brown, a resident of Western Massachusetts, and a comparative stranger to the facts, should have made the suggestion to the Vermonters? There is nothing in Mr. Brown’s letter indicating that the idea of the capture originated with him; and positive proof will be cited that it was first proposed by the Vermonters.

Nor is there the slightest evidence that the proposition of Mr. Brown received any attention in Massachusetts. That colony was fully occupied with its own concerns, for it was the central point of revolution. It had no time to devote to matters which directly concerned only this remote northern frontier. Although the letter of Mr. Brown shows that the capture of this fort was discussed among the Vermonters earlier than elsewhere, I do not regard the fact as of any considerable importance. In view of the impending contest, it may have occurred to thousands; it must have occurred to those who were acquainted with the value of the position in past wars. But they who organized the expedition, were ready to act at the proper time, and who finally made the capture, are entitled to the credit, although a multitude of others had spoken of the enterprise as desirable.

The next witness, in chronological order, is Ethan Allen. His full account of the condition of affairs upon the Grants,

and the events which preceded the capture, *has not been cited by any of the numerous writers upon this subject.* A surprising omission, in view of the fact that his account was published when there was a half regiment of living witnesses, shortly after the event, and before any controversy in relation to it had arisen. It is found in Allen's "Vindication," as it is called, published in 1779, only four years after the capture.

This account not only throws light upon the question we are discussing, but it also proves the spontaneous loyalty of the Vermonters to the cause of liberty. It points out their vital interest in the coming revolution, for their controversy with the New Yorkers had just been submitted to the king and Privy Council, with every prospect of an early decision in their favor. It refers to their frontier, extended to the Province of Quebec, exposed to an enemy in possession of this fort and Crown Point, with a vessel of war upon the lake. "The battle of Lexington," says Allen, "almost distracted them, for interest inclined them to the royal side of the dispute, but the stronger impulses of affection to their country, impelled them to resent its wrongs;" and "the ties of consanguinity, similarity of religion and manners to New England, whence they had emigrated, weighed heavy in their deliberations." Moreover, they "believed the cause of the country to be just," and that "resistance to Great Britain had become the indispensable duty of a free people;" in short, he declares that their interest and their patriotism were directly opposed. He states that, "soon after the news of Lexington battle, the principal officers of the Green Mountain Boys, and other principal inhabitants, *were convened* at Bennington, and attempted to explore futurity, which was found to be unfathomable, and the scenes which have since taken place, then appeared to be precarious and uncertain;" but after consideration, it was "resolved to take an active part with the country, and thereby annihilate the old quarrel with

New York, by swallowing it up in the general conflict for liberty." I invite your special attention to what he says of Ticonderoga:

"But the enemy having the command of Lake Champlain and the garrisons contiguous to it, was ground of great uneasiness to those inhabitants who had extended their settlements on the river Otter Creek and Onion River, and along the east side of the lake aforesaid, who, in consequence of a war, would be under the power of the enemy. It was, therefore, projected to surprise the garrisons of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, with the armed vessel on the lake, and gain the command of that important pass; inasmuch as such an event would in a great measure secure those inhabitants from the enemy, obliging them to take post in Canada; but whether such a measure would be agreeable to Congress or not, they could not for certain determine. But it was apprehended that if these posts were not soon taken they would be strongly reinforced, and become impregnable to any attack, short of a regular siege, for which, at that time, the country was very deficient in the articles of artillery, &c."

"While these matters were deliberating, a committee from the Council of Connecticut arrived at Bennington, with advice and directions to carry into execution the surprise of those garrisons, and, if possible, to gain the command of the lake. Which was done without loss of time." ⁽¹⁵⁾

We have here Allen's positive declaration that the Vermonters, who had the deepest interest in it, projected the capture of this fort, before the arrival of the gentlemen from Connecticut, and were only restrained from acting through fear of the disapproval of Congress. With this declaration before me, I think we carry the admission a little too far, when we say that "the honor of *devising* and putting the expedition in motion belongs to the gentlemen from Connecticut." A more strictly accurate statement of the fact, I think, would be that they set it in motion; but that the honor of devising the expedition, as well as its successful execution, belongs to the Green Mountain Boys.

Let us now inquire what was done in Connecticut by way of putting the expedition for the capture of Ticonderoga in motion; and incidentally meet the claim, once put forward by

⁽¹⁵⁾ See App. No. 5.

Mr. Bancroft, but afterwards withdrawn, that the first impulse was given to it by Samuel Adams, when on his way to the meeting of Congress. The assertion has been made that in so doing, Mr. Adams was acting upon the suggestion of Mr. John Brown. But the claim is made by a writer of no authority, and who gives no authority for his statement. Colonel Samuel H. Parsons, of Connecticut, in a letter to Joseph Trumbull, of June 2, 1775, says ⁽¹⁶⁾ that on the 26th of April, on his way from Massachusetts to Hartford, he met Benedict Arnold, who gave him an account of the condition of Ticonderoga, and the number of cannon there. Arnold was on his way to Cambridge, with a company of volunteers. It does not appear that anything was said in that interview about the capture of this fort. But Colonel Parsons says, that he reached Hartford on the forenoon of April 27th (Thursday); that on his arrival, Colonel Sam. Wyllys, Mr. Deane and himself "first undertook and projected the taking of" Ticonderoga; and with the assistance of three other persons, procured money, men, &c., and sent them out on this expedition, without any consultation with the Assembly or others. The three other persons were Thomas Mumford, Christopher Leffingwell and Adam Babcock. The receipts signed by these gentlemen show that the next day (Friday, the 28th) they procured from the treasury three hundred pounds, which they promised to account for, to the satisfaction of the colony.⁽¹⁷⁾ On the same 28th of April, they gave the money to Noah Phelps and Bernard Romans, who immediately started in the direction of the Grants. That Samuel Adams and Hancock had nothing to do with the project, is shown by Mr. Hancock's letter, dated at Worcester, Mass., on the 26th, in which he states his purpose to leave the next day;⁽¹⁸⁾ and the statement of Mr. Wells, the biographer of Samuel Adams, that Adams and Hancock left Worcester in company,

⁽¹⁶⁾ App. No. 6. ⁽¹⁷⁾ Conn. Hist. Soc. Colls., Vol. I., p. 184, 185.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Force's Archives 4th S., Vol. II., p. 401.

on the 27th, and were at Hartford, on the 29th. With the slow conveyances of those days, it is impossible that they should have reached Hartford before Phelps and Romans had left, with the money, on Friday.⁽¹⁹⁾

From this time, we have the written account of the real director of the expedition, so far as Connecticut is concerned, whose particular and minute relation is confirmed by all the other testimony. It is the journal of Captain Edward Mott, who subsequently acted as the chairman of the committee having the enterprise in charge.

The journal of Captain Mott records his arrival at Hartford, and his interview with Messrs. Parsons, Deane and Leffingwell, on Friday, April 28th; their inquiry if he would undertake an expedition against Ticonderoga, and his affirmative reply. They regretted that he had not arrived one day sooner, for they had laid the plan, and sent off Phelps and Romans, with three hundred pounds in money, and authority to draw for more if needed; that they had gone by the way of Salisbury, where Mott could join them, and he received an order to have his voice in laying out the money. Mott readily accepted their offer, and with five companions started, on Saturday, the 29th of April. They reached Salisbury on the 30th; increased their company to sixteen, and on Monday, May 1st, went to Sheffield, whence they sent two of their number to Albany, "to ascertain the temper of the people." Monday night, they passed with Colonel Easton, in Pittsfield. There they "fell in company with John Brown, Esq., who had been at Canada and Ticonderoga about a month before." They "concluded to make known our (their) business to Colonel Easton and said Brown, and take their advice on the same." It is evident that their coming was unexpected to Brown and Easton, to whom their purpose was then first made known.

⁽¹⁾ See App. No. 7.

To avoid discovery, they had been advised not to raise their men until they reached the Grants ; but Brown and Easton, in view of the scarcity of provisions and poverty of the people there, thought they had better raise a number of men sooner, and Easton offered to enlist some from his own regiment. To this they agreed ; Easton and Brown joined them ; the former went to Jericho and Williamstown, where he raised in all thirty-nine men, and got them ready to march. Easton and Mott then set out for Bennington, where they arrived the next day, probably as late as the 4th, perhaps the 5th of May. On their way, they met an express, who reported that the fort here was repaired ; that the garrison had been reinforced, and was on being its guard ; but, disregarding the account, they pressed forward.

At Bennington, they overtook the rest of their people, except Phelps and Mr. Hancock, who had gone forward to reconnoitre the fort, and the two not yet returned from Albany. There Romans left them, and "joined no more." "We were all glad," says Mott, "as he had been a trouble to us all the time he was with us." This Romans, is the "eminent engineer," recently brought forward by the admirers of Arnold, as one of the leading spirits of the expedition. He was a fit companion of Arnold, who finally quarreled himself out of the service before the close of the year.⁽²⁰⁾

The journal of Captain Mott shows that the news from the fort was discussed at Bennington, but was considered unreliable. Mr. Halsey and Mr. Bull declared that "they would go back for no story, until they had seen the fort themselves." Finding provisions scarce, they sent Captain Stephens and Mr. Hewitt to Albany, to purchase and forward them as soon as possible.

Guarding the roads to the west and northward, they proceeded to raise men as fast as they could, and on "Sunday, the

⁽²⁰⁾ Force's Archives, 4th S., Vol. 3, p. 1364-7.

7th of May, they all arrived at Castleton, the place we (they) had appointed for the men all to meet;" and on Monday, May 8th, "the committee all got together, to conclude in what manner we would proceed to accomplish our design, of which committee I (Mott) was chairman." After debating the various proposals, and what to do in the event of a repulse, they "resolved and voted" to despatch thirty men, under Captain Herrick, to Skenesborough, to seize Major Skene, his party and boats; and take the latter, on the following night, down the lake to Shoreham, to be in readiness to carry the detachment, on its arrival, across to Ticonderoga, where the rest of the men, one hundred and forty in number, were also to march the next day. Captain Douglas was to go to Crown Point, where his brother-in-law was, and endeavor, by some stratagem, to get possession of the king's boats, to assist in carrying over the men." *"It was further agreed that Colonel Ethan Allen should have the command of the party that should go against Ticonderoga, agreeable to my promise, made to the men when I engaged them to go, that they should be commanded by their own officers."* "The whole plan," he continues, "was settled by a vote of the committee. In the evening, after the party to Skenesborough was drafted out, "Colonel Allen went to Mr. Wessel's, in Shoreham, to meet some men who were to come in there, having received his orders at what time he must be ready to take possession of the garrison of Ticonderoga."^[21]

Leaving now the journal of Captain Mott, for the time, with the little patriot army taking a night's rest at Castleton, it may interest you to devote a few minutes to Allen's connection, up to this point, with the enterprise, and the circumstances under which his men were brought together.

The controversy with the land speculators of New York, then more than twelve years old, had brought Allen into pub-

lie notice throughout the colonies. During the past year, he had been especially conspicuous. The land jobbers, who then controlled New York legislation, had proclaimed him an outlaw, and set a price upon his head. He had answered them with characteristic defiance. In the other colonies he was looked upon as a man of great energy, firmness and intrepidity, possessing all the qualities of an effective military leader. By the Vermonters, with whom he had rendered himself popular by many acts of unselfish generosity, he was regarded as a perfectly fearless enemy of every species of injustice and oppression. Few men in America then occupied a larger share of the public attention; there were none whose courage was less questionable.

The military organization of the Vermonters, with Allen as their colonel, and the evidence that they had projected the capture of this fort previous to the arrangement with Brown, in March, has already been mentioned. It may not be proved by direct evidence that all this was well known to Colonel Parsons and his associates in Connecticut; but I think a traverse jury would find that it was from the circumstances. Why, it may be asked; did not Parsons and his co-workers raise their force in Connecticut, or on their way, in Massachusetts? Why were Phelps and Romans sent straight to the Grants, with orders *not* to raise men until they reached there, if these facts were not well known to their principals? They went by way of Salisbury, the old home of Ethan Allen, where his two brothers, Levi and Heman, then lived. Their first act was to send Heman, as an express to Bennington, to inform Ethan of their coming; and Levi was the first man who joined the expedition. Mott and his party made a stop at Pittsfield. Here the Rev. Thomas Allen, the intimate friend of Ethan and John Brown, was the settled minister,^[22] and here Brown, who

⁽²²⁾ See App. No. 9.

had returned from the Grants only a month before, where he had discussed the subject of the capture, joined them. When the Connecticut party reached Bennington, they found the officers of Allen's regiment actually in consultation upon the subject, with the Grand Committee, and only restrained from acting through fear of the disapproval of Congress. That the leader of the Green Mountain Boys should lead this expedition was the spontaneous thought of every one. Up to the night of May 8th, at Castleton, no other leader was thought of by anybody. An account published in the *Hartford Courant* of May 22d, not two weeks after the capture, speaks of the engagement of Brown and Easton by Mott, at Pittsfield, and says: "They likewise *immediately* despatched an express to the intrepid Colonel Ethan Allen, desiring him to be ready to join them with a party of his valiant Green Mountain Boys." A letter from Pittsfield, of May 4th, the day that Mott, Easton and Brown left there, refers to their departure, "expecting to be reinforced by a thousand men from the Grants above here, a post having *previously* taken his departure to inform Colonel Ethan Allen of the design, desiring him to hold his Green Mountain Boys in actual readiness."⁽²³⁾ Captain Elisha Phelps, in a letter of May 16th, writes: "When we left Hartford, our orders were *to repair to the Grants*, and raise an army of men. * * * We pursued to Bennington, *where we met Colonel Ethan Allen*, who was much pleased with the expedition."⁽²⁴⁾ Finally, Allen himself declares that, "the first systematical and bloody attempt at Lexington to enslave America, thoroughly electrified my mind, and fully determined me to take part with my country; and while I was wishing for an opportunity to signalize myself in its behalf, *directions were privately sent to me* from the then Colony (now State) of Connecticut, to raise the Green Mountain Boys, and with them (if

⁽²³⁾ Force, Vol. II. p. 507.

⁽²⁴⁾ Conn. Hist. Coll. 2, Vol. I., p. 175.

possible) to surprise and take the fortress, Ticonderoga. This enterprise I cheerfully undertook."⁽²⁵⁾

Such evidence fills up the measure of proof beyond doubt, reasonable or otherwise, that the Vermonters were ready; that the men of Connecticut knew they were prepared; that Allen was the natural leader of the expedition. Against the solid wall of fact which it builds up, the detractors of Allen, the libellers of the Vermonters, the latter-day admirers of Benedict Arnold, will bring the little canons of their criticism to bear in vain. On this subject, I shall produce no other witnesses. "They who hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead."

Vermonters! have you ever considered the circumstances under which this force was raised? Go back with me to these Grants in May, 1775. The Revolution has scarcely commenced; Independence is not yet declared; British tyranny is not here especially oppressive; British troops have not vexed this people. The country is a wilderness. So slight an impression has the axe of the settler made on the primeval forests, that one who saw them from a little distance would think they had never been touched by the hand of man. The stumps are undecayed in the oldest clearing; there is not here a city, town or village—scarcely a hamlet; for Bennington, the earliest Grant, has not had its church and country store for half a score of years. Instead of railways and turnpikes, there are foot-paths and lines of marked trees. A single road west of the Mountains leads up to the old route to Crown Point, and there is scarcely another. Mails and post-offices are unknown. Wagons and other wheeled vehicles are not yet introduced. Travel is on foot. It is the most recently settled section of the colonies.

Through this wilderness, from the Massachusetts line to the

⁽²⁵⁾ Allen's Narrative, p. 2.

Winooski River, there are scattered settlers. Each has located upon some share in a Grant, bought before his immigration, and this fact has located them widely apart. There is no State, county or town organization. All the government is purely voluntary. There are no binding laws; there is no power to enforce obedience to law. There are only the Grand Committee, Allen and the other leaders, and the Green Mountain Boys.

In this world's goods these settlers are very poor; they lack the necessaries of life. "The people on the Grants are in much distress for want of provisions," writes Captain Phelps, on the 6th of May. "There was great scarcity of provisions; the people are generally poor," says the journal of Captain Mott; and he relates how he sent his agents to Albany, to buy provisions, and forward them as soon as possible. Yes! they were poor enough, in all but love of liberty; in that, perhaps you are no richer to-day.

Can an army be raised under such conditions, among such a people? Not to resist an attack, but to make one, and that the first in a Revolution; to invade, and not to repel invasion. Not to defend the family and the fireside, but to engage in aggressive rebellion, in which failure brings the doom of treason to all; to capture, by force of arms, the first fort from Great Britain, once their mother country, henceforth to be their powerful, remorseless enemy; and all this with a celerity which must achieve success by a surprise? Who would not have answered: "In New York or Massachusetts, with their great cities, towns, civil organizations and dense populations, possibly yes; but here, on the New Hampshire Grants, in 1775, no; you state an impossibility!"

And yet that army was raised. On the ninth, certainly within ninety-six, and probably within seventy-two hours from Mott's arrival at Bennington, it was raised on these Grants, and

counting detached parties, it stood three hundred strong, on the east shore of Lake Champlain, sixty miles away from the point of its origin, armed, equipped and officered, its plans all matured, ready to fall upon and capture Ticonderoga. How was this result accomplished ?

This question has never been satisfactorily answered. Those concerned were proud of their success, but seem not to have been aware that in the quickness of their gathering, or energy of their movements, there was anything extraordinary. They did not care to preserve the facts ; and now the closest search reveals but little information on the subject. There is, however, one fact, briefly stated. Perhaps it is enough, for it illuminates the subject. From Castleton, Allen sent out a messenger to summon men to meet him at Shoreham, who *made a circuit of sixty miles in a single day*. He must have had a fleet horse, you will say ; over such roads, through such forests, sixty miles was a long day's journey for any horseman. No ! Major Beach went, not on horseback, *but on foot*, from Castleton through Rutland, Pittsford, Brandon, Middlebury, Whiting, to Hand's Cove, in Shoreham, *in twenty-four hours*, summoning his men by the way.⁽²⁶⁾ Such a fact requires no comment. If such was their energy, even the raising of this army was a possibility.

Look at the picture ! Allen determines to undertake the enterprise. Instantly his messengers, stout of heart, and fleet of foot, bound away in all directions : over the mountains, through the deep forests and tangled brushwood, across rivers, up the hills and down into the valleys, to every cabin which is the home of a Green Mountain Boy ! Their stay is short ; their words are few. "Allen summons ; the meet is Shoreham ; the business, Ti. ; the time, now ;" and he is off to the next settler, perhaps miles away. Brief, also, is the preparation.

⁽²⁶⁾ App. No. 10.

Allen knows they will not fail him ; they know what Allen expects. Home, business, family, nor excuse, delays the farmer-soldier. The rifle, the bullet-pouch and powder-horn are always ready. The wife fills up the knapsack with provisions for the march ; and, be it midnight or high noon, he is away, before the short prayer can be uttered for his safe return. See them, as they come, striding over the hills, winding along the mountain paths, down into the valley, to the one highway that leads northward ! They have no uniforms ; no strains of music animate their march. Not in ranks or by platoons, but by twos or threes or singly, with swift and steady step, they move towards the place of muster. Below every silent lip, beneath every buckskin jacket, is a great, patriotic heart. On the face of this revolving globe, there are no truer soldiers. Behold them, O ye warriors on paper, who would rob them and their leader of laurels bravely won ! They are going to write history with their bayonets ; to launch a new power among the nations into being ! The Spirit of Liberty is abroad. On the mountain summit she is bathing her jubilant feet in the rising sunlight of a new-born nation's glory. She has sounded forth her summons to battle ! These are her mountain children ; this their answer to her bugle call !

We now return to Castleton. It is the evening of the 8th of May. The party has been drafted out and sent after Major Skene. Ethan Allen has gone to Shoreham. All the plans are settled ; Easton is second, and Warner third in command. The weary soldiers are preparing for their needed rest. Now, there is the bustle of an arrival, and Benedict Arnold appears upon the scene. He is a colonel five days old—a stranger to every one of the party. His appearance is imposing. His new and unsoiled uniform gleams with golden splendor beneath his waving plume and sparkling epaulets. He is not alone.

No! He is "attended" by a servant—of the *genus, valet de chambre*—the only one in that camp, the first recorded appearance of the species in Vermont. To the soldiers of Ethan Allen he makes the cool proposal to take the command away from their old leader, and to elect himself chief of the expedition!

Genius of the grotesque! Did the pencil of caricature ever draw a more ludicrous picture? Does any man with a gleam of common sense, doubt how such men received such a proposition from Benedict Arnold?

In relation to this and subsequent events, the testimony is abundant. In addition to his journal, Captain Mott, the day after the capture, wrote a detailed account of the expedition to the Congress of Massachusetts. This document shows that when Arnold arrived, Allen had left Castleton, and did not see him until he went forward and overtook him the next morning. Mott himself was with the Skenesborough party, a mile and a half from the others, and was sent for when Arnold claimed the command. "We told him," writes Mott, "that we could not surrender the command to him, as our people were raised on condition that they should be *commanded by their own officers*." "We were extremely rejoiced to see that you agreed with us as to the expediency and importance of taking possession of those garrisons; but *were shockingly surprised* when Colonel Arnold presumed to contend for the command of those forces that we had raised." "But Mr. Arnold, after we had generously told him our whole plan, strenuously contended and insisted upon his right to command them and all their officers."^[27]

Arnold's impudent pretensions, as might naturally be supposed, raised a storm of indignation among the soldiers. They "bred such a mutiny," continues Mott, that they "nearly

[27] See Mott's Journal, *supra*.

frustrated our whole design, as our men were for clubbing their firelocks and marching home ;” but they were prevented by their officers. Mott, evidently, did not very well understand Allen’s character, for when Arnold went forward to overtake him, his whole party followed, leaving all the provisions, “for fear he should prevail on Colonel Allen to resign the command ;” and as he had to go back after the supplies, he did not again overtake them until the first party had crossed the lake. Arnold succeeded no better with Allen than he had with his soldiers. That Allen did not put him under guard, or somewhere else, to suppress his pertinacious impudence, is proof that he deemed his claims too idle to merit any serious attention. It was necessary, however, for him to reason with his men. Mott states, that “Allen and Easton told them that he (Arnold) should not have the command of them ; and if he had, their pay should be the same.” Their answer showed that compensation had but little influence upon their view of the subject ; for, says Mott, “they would damn their pay, and say they would not be commanded by any others but those they engaged with.” Up to the arrival at Shoreham, it seems reasonably certain that Arnold was not *much* in command of the expedition, and it is equally clear that it had not yet been converted into that double-headed military monstrosity—a force with two commanders.

It has been supposed by many that the expedition followed the nearest route through Benson, to a point opposite the fort in Orwell. This supposition is incorrect. Leaving Castleton, it moved by the way of Sudbury, where it struck the old Crown Point road, and following that through Whiting, reached the lake shore at Hand’s Cove in Shoreham, about two miles north of the fort on the other side. The distance by this route was about twenty-five miles, seven or eight farther than by the other. There were two reasons for taking it: it

was farther from the lake, and there was less hazard of discovery, and it brought them to the shore in a wooded ravine, where they were perfectly sheltered from observation.⁽²⁸⁾

The party arrived at Hand's Cove after nightfall on the ninth of May, strengthened by the addition of one hundred recruits. It has been stated that Arnold, failing to secure the command, had joined it as a volunteer. Of this I have found no evidence whatever. From his character, and what took place the next morning, it is more probable that he followed it, growling and disappointed.

Upon reaching the lake, they found no means of crossing. The party sent to Skenesborough, to bring the boats found there down the lake, had not arrived; there was no news from Captain Douglass, who had gone "to obtain some of the boats at Crown Point by stratagem." Allen could not send up the lake after boats without risking challenge from the fort. The chances of crossing that night seemed doubtful; the morning would bring discovery.

But Douglass had not failed, nor did Allen despair. There was a scow at Bridport, belonging to Mr. Smith, and Douglass went for it. On his way, he called at the house of Mr. Stone, in Bridport, to secure the assistance of one Chapman. The inmates were all at rest for the night; but two young Vermonters, James Wilcox and Joseph Tyler, aroused from their sleep in a chamber, overheard the conversation between Douglass and Chapman, and instantly formed the project of decoying on shore Major Skene's large row boat, which lay off Willow Point, on Smith's farm in the north-west corner of Bridport, nearly opposite Crown Point, in charge of a colored master, whose love for liquid comforts was universally understood. They dressed, seized their guns and a jug of "New England," hurried off, picking up four armed companions on

⁽²⁸⁾ Goodhue's Hist. Shoreham, p. 13.

their way to the shore. Hailing the boat, they offered to help row it to Shoreham. The persuasion of the jug was too much for the colored captain, and the story that they were on their way to join a hunting party waiting at Shoreham, allayed all his suspicions. The boat came over, started at once, and poor Jack and his two companions did not discover what kind of hunting was on foot, until they found themselves prisoners of war.⁽²⁹⁾

This boat, and Douglass, with the scow, reached Hand's Cove about the same time, in the latter part of the night; other small boats had also been collected. Although every man was eager to be first across, the boats would not carry half the party. Allen and eighty-two men embarked; one hundred and eighty-seven, under Warner, were left behind. The heavily laden boats had to be rowed to the landing selected, a little north of another Willow Point, on the New York shore—a distance of nearly two miles. Here, just as the dawn began to light up the eastern horizon, they landed in silence, formed in three parallel lines, and sent back the boats for their companions.

Allen now takes up the story: "The day began to dawn, and I found myself under a necessity to attack the fort before the rear could cross the lake; and, as it was viewed hazardous, I harangued the officers and soldiers in the manner following: 'Friends and fellow soldiers! You have, for a number of years past, been a scourge and terror to arbitrary power. Your valor has been famed abroad, and acknowledged, as appears by the advice and orders to me (from the General Assembly of Connecticut) to surprise and take the garrison now before us. I now propose to advance before you, and, in person, conduct you through the wicket gate; for we must, this morning, either quit our pretensions to valor, or possess ourselves of this fortress

⁽²⁹⁾ App., No. 11.

in a few minutes ; and, inasmuch as it is a desperate attempt (which none but the bravest men dare undertake), I do not urge it on any, contrary to his will. You that will undertake, voluntarily, poise your firelocks.' ” ⁽³⁰⁾

Every man poises his musket. They face to the right young Beeman, who lives just opposite, who has passed much time at the Fort, who knows all its passages, buildings and quarters, is their guide. Allen heads the center file. “Forward !” is the word of command. Directed by Beeman, they follow Allen through a covered way to the gate. Here, a sentinel, confused by their approach, forgets to give the alarm, but aims his musket at Allen, and pulls the trigger. It misses fire. Allen rushes at him ; he gives a shout, and retreats into the fort, under the shelter of a bomb-proof. The men press on inside the walls to the parade, where, facing the barracks, they form like regulars, and give three huzzas, which arouse the sleeping garrison. A guard thrusts at an officer of the invading force with his bayonet, and slightly wounds him. Allen strikes up the weapon, and deals a blow at the assailant’s head. His life is saved by a comb, which turns the force of the blow ; he drops his gun and asks for quarter. “Where is the officer in command !” thunders the leader. He is shown to a room on the second floor of the officers’ quarters ; he summons Captain Delaplace to come forth, or he will sacrifice the garrison. Aroused from his sleep, half naked and half stupified, clothes in hand, he appears, and, in reply to Allen’s demand for instant surrender, asks, “By what authority ?” “IN THE NAME OF THE GREAT JEHOVAH, AND THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS !” is the answer. He hesitates. Of Congress, he knows but little. The demand is repeated. He submits, and orders his men to parade without arms, for he has given up the garrison. Meantime, the impatient Vermonters have beaten down the doors,

⁽³⁰⁾ Allen’s Narrative, p. 2.

and captured half the enemy. Officers and men parade on the square; the cry of joyous triumph salutes the glad sun as it bursts over the eastern hills. Defiance and Independence roll back the echoing shouts of the sons of liberty. The first victory for freedom has been won; the first British fort has been captured, and Ticonderoga has surrendered to the hero of the Green Mountains!

The men left upon the eastern shore of the lake, less fortunate, but not less brave, led by the gallant Warner, now arrive to join in the triumph of their comrades. Doubtless, as Allen says, there was some "tossing of the flowing bowl," and the war whoop with which, according to one account, the assailants swarmed through the wicket and over the walls, was not wholly silenced by the surrender. Warner insists on his right to go at once and attack Crown Point. He sets off, and that fortress falls the next day.^[31] The "Gate of the Country" is held by the sons of liberty. They have made that capture which, under the circumstances, was of greater value to the popular cause than any other that could have been made in all the colonies.

Since my purpose is the examination of disputed questions, rather than the presentation of familiar history, I proceed to the next piece of evidence which bears upon the point in controversy. Though one day later than the report of the "War Committee," it should be introduced here. It is Allen's letter to the Albany Committee, of May 11th,^[32] in which occurs the expression: "I took the Fortress of Ticonderoga; Colonel Easton and his valiant soldiers greatly distinguished themselves. * * * Colonel Arnold *entered the fortress with me, side by side.*"

We left Arnold on the road to Shoreham, with his claim to

^[31] App., No. 12.

^[32] App., No. 13.

command repudiated by the officers and angry soldiers. His conduct could not have commended him to the favor of Allen, and yet, as the record has stood hitherto, Allen seems to have gone quite out of his way to assign him a prominent place in the attack, though careful, at the same time, to assert his own exclusive authority. Upon this expression in Allen's letter, the advocates of Arnold have, in great part, founded his claims.

It is obvious that Allen's expression has some explanation—that we have not had the whole story. So singular has this expression seemed, that some have thought the reference to Arnold an interpolation.

It is well, therefore, that the explanation has been furnished. Truth is always consistent with itself, and the explanation not only proves the exclusive character of Allen's command, but it presents the two men in their true characters. Allen, rough and unpolished, but with no jealousy in his heart towards the man who sought to deprive him of the only position he seems to have coveted; Arnold, conceited and imperious, so selfish, that he was willing to imperil success for his own advancement. The evidence now offered, throws light just where the story requires it. It is to be found in a modest town history—an example of a class of books now little prized, but which, in future times, will be preserved among the treasures of the historical collector.

The Rev. Josiah F. Goodhue was the compiler of a "History of the Town of Shoreham." He was long and well known in Western Vermont. For nearly a fourth of a century, he was the settled minister of that town, where his faithful service will long be held in grateful remembrance. Numbers who hear me, will testify to his many qualifications as a historian, and confirm my own opinions, based upon an acquaintance of thirty years. His judgment was cool and clear. Cautious, almost to incredulity, he was incapable of reaching a conclusion until it

was fully supported by reliable testimony. A fact recorded by him, on the evidence of others, is a guaranty that the evidence existed, and that, in the opinion of a competent judge, it was reliable.

The account given by Mr. Goodhue of the expedition, previous to the crossing of the first detachment, does not differ from that of other authors. After stating that when the first party landed, "it began to be light," he continues:

"Allen therefore determined not to await the arrival of the rest of the men from the other side, but to push on immediately to the attack. When Allen gave the word of command to march forward, Arnold, contrary to the arrangement made at Castleton, interposed, and claimed his right to take command and lead the men, and swore that he would go into the fort first. Allen swore he should not, but that he himself would first enter. The dispute running high, Allen, turning to Amos Callender, of Shoreham, said: 'What shall I do with the d—d rascal? shall I put him under guard?' Callender, regretting such an occurrence at such a critical time, and feeling the importance of setting forward immediately, and of acting in perfect harmony, advised them to settle the difficulty by agreeing to enter the fort together. They both assented, and set forward under the guidance of a young man named Beeman, etc." His account of the entry and capture is the same as that given by Allen in his "Narrative."

Mr. Goodhue's authority for this relation is presented in these words: "These statements I had from Major Noah Callender, son of Amos Callender, who was with his father at the time." He gives the language of Allen's demand for the surrender, "By the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." Allen states it, "In the name of, etc,"

Referring to the time when his history was written, Mr. Goodhue speaks of Major Callender in these terms: "It was a

happy circumstance that Major Noah Callender had not then passed away, whose memory, though he was then more than eighty years old, remained unimpaired. The author held frequent conversations with him, and noted down whatever he deemed important for the prosecution of his work, and it is with pleasure he is able to state that, on no important point, has he found Major Callender's statements to be erroneous, after having subjected them to the severest tests." This opinion of his character is supported by all his neighbors, among whom his long, industrious life was passed.

All the relations hitherto cited, bearing upon the claims of Arnold, have been silent as to everything which transpired between the departure from Castleton and the entry of the fort. The only occasion upon which Allen refers to him, is when writing to the Albany Committee. Mott and his associates, to whose authority all but Arnold promptly submitted, had definitely given Allen the command, by vote, before he left Castleton. The statement of Major Callender fills the *hiatus* in the evidence between Castleton and the entry of the fort, and shows that Arnold was permitted to enter the fort with Allen, to settle a dispute which the former had created, after the first party had landed, which threatened the success of the expedition. It also proves that Arnold's claim to command was rejected on the very eve of the entry. Allen's expression in his letter is explained in a manner which excludes the conclusion that he yielded the command to him in the slightest degree, and thus, the only evidence in Arnold's favor, except his own assertions, disappears from the historical record.^[32]

On the same day, with his letter to Albany, Allen wrote an account of the capture of the fort to the Congress of Massachusetts. In the latter, he asserts that he captured the fort with a force of Green Mountain Boys, aided by soldiers from

[32] Goodhue's History of Shoreham, 12 to 15.

Massachusetts. He speaks in terms of warm commendation of Colonel Easton and Mr. Brown, but does not mention Arnold,—a singular omission, if Arnold participated in the command, when he was writing an official report to the authority from which the latter claimed to hold his commission.^[34]

After the surrender, the proofs accumulate of Arnold's envy and disappointment. He could not be contented to yield to Allen the credit of the capture. "He again," says the journal of Captain Mott, "challenged the command, and insisted that he had a right to have it, *on which our soldiers again paraded, and declared they would go right home, for they would not be commanded by Arnold.* I told them they should not, and at length pacified them; and then reasoned with Arnold, and told him *as he had not raised any men, he could not expect to have the command of ours.* He still insisted, etc." In his letter, as chairman of the Committee of War, May 11th, Mott adds: "After the surrender, Arnold again assumed the command of the garrison, although he had not one man there, and demanded it of Colonel Allen, on which we gave Colonel Allen his orders, in writing, as followeth, viz.:

"TO COLONEL EIHAN ALLEN:

Sir—Whereas, agreeable to the power and authority to us given by the COLONY OF CONNECTICUT, we have appointed you to take command of a party of men, and reduce and take possession of the garrison of Ticonderoga and the dependencies; and, as you are now in possession of the same, you are hereby directed to keep the possession of said garrison for the use of the American Colonies, till you have further orders from the Colony of Connecticut, or from the Continental Congress.

Signed, per order of the Committee,

TICONDEROGA, May 10, 1775.

EDWARD MOTT, *Chairman.*"

In the same letter the Committee commend Colonel Easton as well qualified for a colonel's command in the field. They

^[34] App., No. 14.

also "recommend John Brown, of Pittsfield, as an able counsellor, full of spirit and resolution," and "wish they may both be employed in the service of their country, equal to their merit."

The annoyance caused by Arnold's quarrelsome pertinacity is apparent from a letter, written on the day of the capture, to the Congress of Massachusetts, signed by James Easton, Epap. Bull, Edward Mott and Noah Phelps, as "Committee of War for the expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point."^[35] It sets forth that, "previous to Arnold's arrival, the Committee had raised the force, marched it within a few miles of the fort," and, "this morning, at daybreak, took possession of said fort, and have given the command thereof into the hands of Colonel Ethan Allen. And said Arnold refuses to give up his command, which causes much difficulty; said Arnold not having enlisted one man, *neither do we know that he has, or could do it.* And as said Committee have raised the men, and are still raising supplies for the purpose of repairing said forts, taking the armed sloop, and defending this country and said forts, we think that said Arnold's further procedure in this matter highly inexpedient, both in regard to expense and defense." As these gentlemen were not acting under Massachusetts, nor bound to report to her Congress, this letter seems to have been written to induce Arnold's recall.

Colonel Allen's letter to Governor Trumbull, of May 15th, is next in order.^[36] This letter does not mention Arnold's name, and it was carried by the detachment sent to Connecticut with the prisoners. "I make you a present," writes Allen, "of a major, a captain and two lieutenants, in the regular establishment of George the Third. I hope they may serve as ransoms for some of our friends at Boston." He announces his purpose to capture the royal sloop cruising on the lake; states that the

^[35] Mott's Journal and Letter, *supra*.

^[36] 1, Conn. H. S. Colls., p. 178.

enterprise has been approved of by the Green Mountain Boys, and his confidence in its success, and subscribes himself, "At present, Commander of Ticonderoga."

On the 16th of May, a week after the capture, Captain Phelps addressed a letter from Skenesborough to the General Assembly of Connecticut, in which he recounts the progress of the expedition; the rendezvous at Castleton; the reconnoissance of the fort, and says: "On the 10th day of May instant, we took Fort Ticonderoga, and also Major Skene, and have sent them, with proper guards, to Hartford. There is, at the fort, about two hundred men,—in a fort of broken walls and gates, and but few cannon in order, and very much out of repair; *and in a great quarrel with Colonel Arnold, who shall command the fort*, even that some of the soldiers threaten the life of Colonel Arnold." * * "I also saw a young gentleman from Albany, that says they disapproved of our proceeding in taking the fort, in that we did not acquaint them of it before it was done. Perhaps it would be well if some gentleman should wait on the Congress at New York, so as to keep peace with them."^[37]

It is in the highest degree improbable, that the cotemporary accounts should be erroneous in respect to the question of command. On the 17th of May, the "Spy," published at Worcester, Mass., contained an account of the expedition, which states that the men were raised by Colonels Allen and Easton, "agreeable to a plan formed in Connecticut." It relates the sending of one party of about thirty men to take Major Skene into custody; that the remainder crossed the lake in the night, landed about half a mile from said fortress, and at break of day, May 10th, made the assault with great intrepidity; our men darting like lightning upon the guards, gave them just time to snap two guns, before they took them prisoners. This

was immediately followed by a reduction of the fort and its dependencies." In this account, the value of the captured property is given at not less than three hundred thousand pounds, or a million and a half of dollars. In this particular statement, there is no reference to Arnold.^[38]

The captured officers were sent to Connecticut in charge of Messrs. Hickok, Halsey and Nichols, who reached Hartford on the 16th of May, with Allen's letter to Governor Trumbull, of the 12th, before cited. The remaining prisoners reached Hartford on Saturday, two days later, in charge of Epaphras Bull, a member of the committee of which Mott was chairman. The Hartford "Courant," published on the next Monday, contains an "Authentic account of the Fortress of Ticonderoga and Crown Point," in which it is stated that "*Colonel Allen, commanding the soldiery*, on Wednesday morning they surprised and took possession of the fortress." Governor Hall expresses what must be the conclusion of every impartial mind when he says: "This account, brought direct from Ticonderoga by the persons having charge of the prisoners, and who belonged to the party sent from Hartford with the expedition, is entitled to the character and credit of an official report."^[39]

The man who should know best who his captor was, was the commander of Ticonderoga. He knew to whom he surrendered the fort, and who made the demand for its surrender. The singular arrangement of a divided command would have attracted the notice of a military officer. The evidence of Captain Delaplace, therefore, may well be regarded as conclusive. On the 24th of May, within two weeks of the event, he drew up a memorial for the release of himself and his captured companions. In this memorial, presented to the General Assembly of Connecticut on the day of its date, he says: "That on the morning of the 10th of May, the garrison of the

[38] App., No. 16.

[39] Hall's Address, p. 31.

Fortress of Ticonderoga, in the Province of New York, was surprised by a party of armed men, *under the command of one Ethan Allen*, consisting of about one hundred and fifty, who had taken such measures as effectually to surprise the same; that very little resistance could be made, and to whom your memorialists were obliged to surrender as prisoners; and, overpowered by a superior force, were disarmed, and *by said Allen* ordered immediately to be sent to Hartford.”⁽⁴⁰⁾

On the 18th of May, the New York journals published what was termed “An authentic account of the taking” of these forts. They describe the movement from Connecticut, the journey of Mott, Brown and Easton, and say: “The men were raised, and proceeded, as directed by said Mott and Phelps,—*Colonel Ethan Allen commanding the soldiery.*” This account does not refer to Arnold. At that time it was not supposed that Arnold would attempt to assert a claim to the actual command, whatever might have been his opinion of his right to it, as a question of conflicting authority.⁽⁴¹⁾

Upon what evidence, then, is the claim founded, that Arnold had any part in the origin of the expedition against Ticonderoga; or that he participated in the capture, otherwise than as an obstruction which imperilled its success? I think the answer must be, that it rests on the unsupported testimony of a single witness, unworthy of credit, habitually untruthful—as unreliable as was ever cited by a writer of history. That witness is Arnold himself. Your attention is invited to an examination of his evidence.

It will be remembered that Colonel Parsons met Arnold, and conversed with him about Ticonderoga, on the 26th of April. We do not know what passed in that interview, but, in the then impending excitement, it is improbable that its capture,

⁽⁴⁰⁾ App. 17.

⁽⁴¹⁾ See App. 18.

and its value to the colonies, should not have formed the subject of conversation. On the 30th, Arnold addressed a note to the Massachusetts Committee, describing the condition of the fort, but silent on the subject of its capture. On the second of May, the Committee appointed a sub-committee to confer with Arnold relative to a proposal made by him, for an attempt upon Ticonderoga; authorized him to appoint two field officers, captains, etc., and to dismiss them when he thought proper, and ordered the Committee of Supplies to furnish him with ten horses, to be employed on a special service. On the third, they commissioned him "Colonel and Commander-in-Chief over a body of men, not exceeding four hundred, to proceed with all expedition to the western parts of this and the neighboring colonies, where you are directed to enlist *those men, and, with them,* forthwith to march to the fort at Ticonderoga, and use your best endeavors to reduce the same," etc.⁽¹²⁾

It is obvious from this action of the Committee, that if Arnold suspected that an expedition was already on foot for the capture of this fort, he did not communicate his suspicions to the Committee. Their action looks to the raising of a force in western Massachusetts, the appointment of its officers, and the furnishing of its supplies. Nothing was further from the Committee's intention, than to give him the command of a force already raised, or to be raised, in another State, over which Massachusetts had no jurisdiction.

It has been commonly supposed that Arnold undertook, in good faith, to execute the instructions of the Committee; that he went to Berkshire, the western county of Massachusetts, and commenced his enlistments; but finding that an expedition had already started, left others to complete the work, and, himself, hurried on until he overtook the party at Castleton.

⁽¹²⁾ Forces' Archives, 4th S., V. II., p. 750, 751.

This, I think, is an incorrect conclusion. *There is no evidence that he ever raised, or undertook to raise a man!* What he did do will be hereafter shown.

The distance from Cambridge to Rupert, Vermont, which he reached on the 8th of May, by the most direct route, was about one hundred and seventy-five miles. If he left Cambridge the day after his commission bears date, his movements must have been undelayed, if he reached Rupert by the 8th. That he could have gone by the way of Pittsfield, stopping long enough to make arrangements for raising men, is highly improbable, for that would have added seventy-five miles to the length of his journey. If he went to western Massachusetts, he would certainly have gone to Pittsfield, for that was the principal town, and the headquarters of Colonel Easton's regiment. That he did not go there, is shown, I think, by the letter of the Rev. Thomas Allen to General Pomeroy, who, writing from Pittsfield on the 9th, the day after Arnold reached Castleton, says: "Since I wrote the last paragraph, an express has arrived from B. Arnold, Commander of the forces against Ticonderoga, for recruits."⁽⁴³⁾ Mr. Allen was one of the most active of the friends of liberty in Pittsfield. It is impossible that Arnold should have been in his town, enlisting men, three days before, without his knowledge.

Arnold's letter from Rupert, Vt., of May 8th, is directed to the gentlemen in the southern towns, and urges them to exert themselves, and to send forward as many men as they can possibly spare "to join the army here" It contains directions about their provisions, ammunition and blankets; states their wages, which he engages "to see paid;" and describes the number of men at the fort, and states what he desires to accomplish.⁽⁴⁴⁾ It is precisely such a letter as he would have written if he had not been to Pittsfield before, and states the facts which he

⁽⁴³⁾ App., No. 19.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ App., No. 20.

would have certainly communicated in person, if he had had the opportunity. The expression, "Commander of the forces," is the same *totidem verbis* with that used by Mr. Allen in his letter from Pittsfield, and renders it highly probable that this letter was brought by the express to which the Rev. Thomas Allen refers, as having arrived on the 9th from "B. Arnold, Commander of the forces," etc.

In view of these facts, in connection with Arnold's pertinacious repetition of his claim to the command, before and after the capture, his conduct may be more reasonably accounted for in another way. He suspected, perhaps knew, that Parsons would go to Hartford and get up the expedition. If Parsons intended to do what he did a few hours later, his purpose was formed before, or during, his interview with Arnold, and, as the latter was on his way to Cambridge, there was no reason why Parsons should conceal his purpose. Arnold also knew that secrecy would induce Parsons not to make his object known to the Assembly of Connecticut; that he would, therefore, have no *commission* from that body, and, upon the Grants, there was no recognized authority which could commission anybody. Arnold's plan to secure command of the expedition, and, in the event of success, the honor of the capture, only required a commission, as color of authority. Arrived at Cambridge, he applied to the Committee of Safety, represented the value of the fort, and the ease with which it could be taken; and the Committee, not aware that an expedition was on foot, having use at home for the forces already raised, readily commissioned him, on condition that he should raise his own men. Such a commission, Arnold thought, would serve his purpose, and, having obtained it, he pushed straight for the fort by the shortest and quickest route, sending an express to western Massachusetts, to enlist men. He knew that no officer in the party had any regular commission; if he could overtake it be-

fore the capture, he expected a ready submission. Others would have the labor, he the honor of the enterprise. This view explains his angry disappointment at the stern refusal which met his assertion of command, and his repeated claim that he alone had any legal authority. It is also confirmed by the fact, that not a man raised under Arnold's authority reached the fort until the 13th, as I shall show hereafter. If he began to raise recruits as early as the 6th or 7th of May, when so much depended upon expedition, some of them could have reached the fort in less than a week, with no obstructions in their way, if Ethan Allen could raise his army, march it about the same distance, gather up the scattered boats, cross the lake and capture Ticonderoga in less than five days.

The first document upon which Arnold's claim of actual command rests, is his letter to the Massachusetts Committee, dated May 11th, the day after the fort was taken.^[45] He refers in this letter to one written the day before, in which he stated that, on his arrival in the vicinity, he found and joined a party, led by Allen, bound on the same errand with himself; that he decided *not to wait for the arrival of the troops he "had engaged on the road!"* That "we had taken the fort, etc.," of which he intended to keep possession until further advices. He asserts that "on and before our taking possession here, I had agreed with Colonel Allen to issue further orders jointly, until I could raise a sufficient number of men to relieve his people, since which, Colonel Allen, *finding he had the ascendancy over his people*, positively insisted I should have no command." "The power is now taken out of my hands, and I am not consulted; neither have I any voice in any matters."

This letter was written the day his express for men arrived at Pittsfield. He had not, at that time, a man "engaged." The Mott Committee were not aware that he had "raised one

[45] App., No. 21.

man ;" and yet he writes as if his army was on the march, and its arrival expected in a short time. What had he to do with "deciding" upon the time when the attack should be made? He speaks of those who were to make it as Allen's "people," and yet he asserts an agreement *made with* Allen, "*on and before* taking possession," "to issue *further* orders jointly." Were there two agreements? Did they refer to orders *after* the fort was in possession of the Vermonsters, or *previous* to the capture? It has been shown that Allen was not present when Arnold claimed the command, at Castleton; that the men would have nothing to do with him; that, when he pressed his claim, they were excited, almost to mutiny; that when he followed after Allen, Mott and his Committee pursued him, fearing that Allen might yield; that Allen refused to yield, and the men said they would not submit if he did! Where, then, was this *agreement* made? Arnold's answer is, "on and before the capture." Allen receded from it, "finding he had the ascendancy over his men." When was Allen in doubt about his relations to his men, and their wish that he should command them? Arnold's account will not bear analysis. There is an incoherence of time, place and circumstances in the statement of this agreement, which proves its own manufacture by a false witness. It is as absurd, considered in connection with the admitted facts, as the military novelty of an attacking force with two commanders, equal in rank and authority.

The same letter describes the soldiers, after the capture, as being in a state of anarchy—plundering private property, threatening desertion, and other enormities—and states that one hundred men would easily retake the place. Here, again, Arnold is contradicted by the facts. Had they been plundered, would Delaplace and his men have kept silence? In all their complaints, and they made many, there is no word of

plaint against Allen and his men. With a single exception, Arnold is the only witness on this point, and the exception only proves that Arnold impressed one man, twenty days after the capture, with the idea that, but for Arnold, "people *would have been plundered* of their private property." There was no private property, except such as may have belonged to the inmates of the fort.

One statement in this letter is so palpably untrue, that it is difficult to conceive why even Arnold should have made it. He avers that the party "I advised were gone to Crown Point, are returned," and that expedition "is entirely laid aside." At the moment that letter was written, Crown Point *was actually in Warner's possession*.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Arnold probably knew the fact of its capture. He must have known that Warner and his party had gone to take it, and he knew he was penning a falsehood when he wrote that the expedition was laid aside. He admits that Allen is a proper man to head "his own wild people," but insists that he is ignorant of military science. His dissatisfaction is universal. Although *the power was taken out of his hands, and he had "no voice in any matters,"* he "is determined to insist on his rights, and remain here against all opposition," as he "is the only person who has been *legally authorized* to take possession of this place." This expression confirms the committee's account, that he persisted in his claim to the command after he was repudiated by the entire party. Were there no other evidence than the statements of this angry letter, all fair men would pronounce Arnold's claim to participate in the command, as untrue as, in view of the facts, it was improbable.

On the 14th of May, Arnold again wrote the same Committee.⁽⁴⁷⁾ This letter recounts the insults he had suffered in the public service; declares that he has about one hundred

⁽⁴⁶⁾ App. No. 22.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ See App. No. 23.

men, and is expecting more; that the dispute between himself and Allen is subsiding; but contains no other reference to the subject of command. The material facts of this letter are all untrue. Arnold says: "*I ordered a party to Skenesborough, to take Major Skene, who have made him prisoner, and seized a small schooner, which has just arrived here.*" Skene was taken on the 9th of May, the day before the fort was captured. The capturing party, under Herrick, had been sent from Castleton before Arnold reached there. Two days before the date of this letter, Allen had sent Skene and Delaplace to Hartford, as prisoners of war. And yet Arnold writes, "*I ordered the party,*" etc. And this statement convicts him of another falsehood. His express had reached Pittsfield on the 9th. Eighteen men each, were drafted from some of the companies of Colonel Easton's regiment, and *fifty* men thus raised, under Captains Brown and Oswald, arrived at Skenesborough on the 11th. They left in the schooner which Herrick had captured, and reached Ticonderoga on the 14th. They were the first men who came to Arnold, and they were only fifty in number, as Arnold himself states in his next letter of May 19th. He thus doubles their number, and reports to his superiors that he had originated the plan of capturing Skenesborough, and despatched the party, which had just returned, after successfully executing his plan. That the vessel arrived, is the only element of truth in the statement. The men who came on her had not been enlisted when Skenesborough was captured.

Arnold's next letter is dated at Crown Point, on the 19th of May. It expresses his fears "that some persons might attempt to injure him in the esteem of Congress," and his desire to be "superseded." It has no other reference to the main question. He announces the arrival of Brown and Oswald with *fifty* men, and repeats the false statement that they had taken pos-

session of the schooner, at Skenesboro'. He also announces the capture of the royal sloop, at St. Johns, and Allen's departure for Canada.^[48]

The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts gave little countenance to Arnold's assumptions. On the 16th of May, the Committee of Correspondence for Connecticut had written to the Massachusetts Congress, that the expedition had been set on foot by some private gentlemen of the former colony, who had made the capture before the Massachusetts party came up. Referring to the question of command which had arisen, the letter intimated that this, and all similar expeditions, should be regarded as undertaken for the common benefit of all the colonies, and that the present was no time to dispute about precedence.^[49]

The action of Massachusetts upon the subject is consistent with her record. On the 17th of May, her Provincial Congress received the first information of the capture of *Ticonderoga*, not from Arnold, but from Colonel Allen and Edward Mott—the officer in command, and the chairman of the committee under whom he acted. Nor is this all. The letters containing the information were sent by Colonel Easton, who, it was stated in Allen's letter, commanded the Massachusetts men. Upon Easton's arrival with the letters, the Congress appointed one committee to report on the subject of the capture, and another to introduce Colonel Easton to the House, "to give a narrative of that transaction, and that each member have liberty to ask him any questions." The report of the committee was presented on the same day; it proposed a letter to Connecticut, and a preamble and resolution in the following terms:

"The Congress having received authentic intelligence that the fort at *Ticonderoga* is surrendered into the hands of

[48] Force Ib., p. 646.

[49] Force Ib., p. 618.

Colonel *Ethan Allen* and others, together with the artillery and the artillery stores, ammunition, etc., thereunto belonging, for the benefit of these colonies, occasioned by the intrepid valor of a number of men under the command of the said Colonel *Allen*, Colonel *Easton*, of the *Massachusetts*, and others; and by the advice and direction of the Committee for that Expedition, the said Colonel *Allen* is to remain in possession of the same, and its dependencies, until further orders.

“*Resolved*, That this Congress do highly approve of the same; and the General Assembly of the Colony of *Connecticut* are hereby desired to give directions relative to garrisoning and maintaining the same for the future, until the advice of the Continental Congress can be had in that behalf.”

There was an additional resolution, asking Connecticut to give orders for the removal of some of the cannon to Massachusetts.^[50]

It is submitted to the judgment of just men, whether this official action of the Congress of Massachusetts is not decisive against the claims now made in Arnold's behalf. This was the Congress to which Arnold should have officially reported the capture, if he made it; for he was acting under its authority, if he acted at all. He not only allows Allen to make this official report, and transmit it by Easton, but he contents himself with a complaining letter, upon general topics, to the Committee of Safety, consisting of a few members, and *never reports the capture to the Congress*. And this Congress, having Easton, the Colonel of one of their own regiments, the third in rank at Ticonderoga, before it, to give a narrative of the whole transaction, with liberty to each member to question him—upon the report of a special committee to consider the whole subject—adopts a resolution, which spreads upon its records the facts that the expedition was under the orders of a

^[50] See Journals, Prov. Con. of Mass., for May 17, 1775.

committee; that Allen was in command, and that the fort was surrendered to him; that he is to remain in possession, and, finally, approving of the whole proceeding, *without making any reference, express or implied, to the man whom it is now claimed captured this fort under the authority of the very body which thus ignored him and his pretensions.*

In the letter to Connecticut, Arnold is mentioned in a manner which shows the anxiety of the Congress to be rid of him as quietly as possible. They suggest that Arnold should be sent to Massachusetts with some of the cannon, "with all possible haste," as "*a means of settling any disputes which may have arisen between him and some other officers.*" This is the only reference to Arnold in the proceedings of the Congress.⁽⁵¹⁾

The Committee of Safety, on the 22d of May, referred Arnold's letter, of the 11th, to the Congress, as relating to a subject beyond its own control. That body, on the same day, addressed a letter to Arnold, acknowledging the receipt of his, and applauding "*the conduct of the troops!*" It also "thanks him for his exertions in the cause," encloses a copy of the letter to Connecticut, and then proceeds to dispose of the whole subject, so far as Massachusetts was concerned, by the statement that, "as the affairs of that expedition began in the Colony of Connecticut, and the cause being common to us all, we have already wrote to the General Assembly of that Colony *to take the whole matter, respecting the same, under their care and direction,*" etc.⁽⁵²⁾

This letter was a practical revocation of any authority which Massachusetts had conferred upon Arnold, and it was clearly his duty to have returned to the army at Cambridge; or to have sought his future directions from Connecticut. He did neither; but remained at Crown Point, where all his subse-

⁽⁵¹⁾ Force, 807. See App. No. 24.

⁽⁵²⁾ Force I., p. 639.

quent letters are dated. In a letter of May 23d, to the Committee of Safety, he calls for money and provisions, and indulges in ill-concealed exultation over Allen's failure to take Montreal.⁽⁵³⁾ Without waiting for any orders or permission from either Connecticut or New York to do so, on the 26th of May, he announces his purpose to send some of the captured cannon to Massachusetts. This lawless proceeding, intimated in a previous letter, called forth an apology from Massachusetts to New York, and an expression of the hope that it would be overlooked as a mistake made "in the hurry and confusion of war."⁽⁵⁴⁾

Immediately after the capture of Ticonderoga, Allen had undertaken to impress upon the Colonies the importance of attacking the British forces in Canada, by the way of Lake Champlain. Day after day he despatched letters to the Continental, as well as the Provincial Congresses, and their influential members, in which he demonstrated the feasibility of the enterprise, which he declared he could accomplish with fifteen hundred men. But the Colonies were not yet ripe for measures of invasion. Instead of attacking Canada, they doubted whether they should hold Ticonderoga, which, in Allen's opinion, it would be ruinous to the popular cause to abandon. His efforts, ably seconded by Colonel Easton,⁽⁵⁵⁾ finally induced the leading patriots in Connecticut and Massachusetts to concur in the propriety of retaining the forts, and some of them supported his proposed invasion of Canada. Arnold, of course, opposed whatever Allen approved. He ridiculed Allen's proposed attack upon Montreal, and continued his exertions to send the cannon to Massachusetts. The Congress of that State, believing itself responsible for Arnold's acts, were constantly sending letters of excuse and apology for them to the Conti-

⁽⁵³⁾ Force, p. 693.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Force, p. 715.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ See Easton's letter to Prov. Con. of Mass. Force's Archives, 919.

mental Congress and their sister colonies.⁽⁵⁶⁾ But, while they were thus exerting themselves to excuse him, he did not hesitate to open communication for himself with all the sources of power. He was in frequent correspondence with the Continental, as well as the Congresses of Connecticut and New York, and, in the early part of June, it is difficult to determine to which of these bodies, if to either, he held himself responsible.

The Congress of Massachusetts was well informed of Arnold's movements, and, before the end of May, had become convinced of the necessity of asserting an absolute control over his lawless imprudence. To avoid doing him any injustice, they determined to examine into his conduct, and, in the meantime, not to excuse his further rashness, by any sudden withdrawal of their confidence. With this view they addressed him a letter on the 27th of May, assuring him that they would receive no impressions to his disadvantage, until they had given him an opportunity to vindicate his conduct;⁽⁵⁷⁾ and, on the same day, despatched Colonel Joseph Henshaw, to Hartford, with instructions, if Connecticut had made provision for garrisoning Ticonderoga, to proceed to that place, and order Arnold to return to Massachusetts, and settle his accounts and be discharged. Of this resolution the Congress advised Arnold in their letter of the same date. Upon reaching Hartford, Colonel Henshaw learned that Connecticut had already sent Colonel Hinman, with a well appointed force of a thousand men, to Ticonderoga, to take the command, and hold the place until New York was prepared to relieve them. Colonel Henshaw, instead of proceeding to Ticonderoga himself, despatched a letter by special express to Arnold, informing him of Colonel Hinman's departure, and that it was the expectation of the Massachusetts Congress that he should assume the command upon his arrival, and, to leave no question of authority open,

⁽⁵⁶⁾ See Letter of Mass. Cong. to Conn. Force, 722.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Force, 723.

and no excuse for Arnold's attempting to retain the command, the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, which had originally commissond Arnold, *without the knowledge of the Congress*, on the 28th of May, wrote him that the Congress had now taken up the matter, and given the necessary orders respecting the acquisition of these forts. As if in anticipation of Arnold's disobedience, the letter adds, "*it becomes your duty, and is our requirement*, that you conform yourself to such advice and orders as you shall, from time to time, receive from that body."⁽⁵⁸⁾

Arnold had no intention of surrendering his authority, although directed to do so, both by Connecticut and Massachusetts. As soon as he received information of Colonel Hinman's approach, he became "positive" that an invasion of Canada ought to be attempted, and that he could easily take Montreal and Quebec. He, therefore, proposed to the Continental Congress that, "to give satisfaction to the different colonies," Colonel Hinman's regiment should form part of an army of two thousand men, which, under his command, should invade the Canadian Provinces. He expressed the emphatic wish that this army should include "*no Green Mountain Boys!*" This letter he despatched to Philadelphia by one of his captains, as a special express.

Just at this time the colonies, while opposed to the invasion of Canada, had become fully awakened to the vital importance of holding Ticonderoga at all hazards. A full month had elapsed after the capture before they became aware of the value, in a military sense, of the position, which was clear to Allen before its seizure was attempted. The feeling of the leading patriots on the subject is well expressed in a letter to General Warren, written from Northampton by Joseph Hawley, on the 9th of June.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Speaking of Ticonderoga, he says: "I am still in

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Force, 723-727.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ Force, 944.

agonies for the greatest possible despatch to secure that pass." He points out that it is the spot where the greatest mischief to the colonies "may be withstood and resisted; but, if that is relinquished or taken from us, desolation must come in upon us like a flood." "The design of seizing that fort was gloriously conceived; but to what purpose did our forces light there, if they are now to fly away?" In these and like emphatic terms, he urged that Ticonderoga should be strengthened without the loss of a day. Its importance was beginning to be understood; none knew it better than Arnold, and the idea of losing its command at such a time was resisted by all the selfish impulses of his soul.

The report of Colonel Henshaw to the Massachusetts Congress, early in June, had shown to that body the propriety of allowing Connecticut to appoint the commander-in-chief of Ticonderoga, and the necessity of settling all questions of precedence, so far as Arnold was concerned. His purpose to resist his own removal had already been foreshadowed, though it was not believed he would proceed to the extremity of actual mutiny. There was evidence enough, however, to induce that Congress to inform itself thoroughly of the condition of affairs upon this frontier. It had already called upon its Committee of Safety for copies of Arnold's commission; the papers relating to his appointment; the engagements of the Committee to him; the authority they had conferred upon him, and "everything necessary to give the Congress a full understanding of the relation Colonel Arnold then stood in to the Colony."⁽⁶⁰⁾ On the 12th of June, it resolved to appoint three persons to repair to Ticonderoga, examine into the state of affairs there, and act in such a manner as the Congress should direct. The importance of this action, in the opinion of the Congress, is shown by the fact that the committee, which con-

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Force, 716.

sisted of Walter Spooner, Jedediah Foster and James Sullivan, were elected by ballot, and another committee was appointed to prepare their instructions. These instructions were presented to the Congress, and approved on the 13th, and given to the committee on the 14th of June. They were minute and specific, and covered the whole subject. They directed the committee to retain Arnold in the service *only* in case he was willing to serve at one or both of the posts, under the command of such chief officer as Connecticut might appoint, and, in that event, they were to continue him in commission, if they should judge it best "for the general service and safety," after having made themselves "fully acquainted with the spirit, capacity and conduct of said Arnold." They were fully empowered to discharge him, and, in that event, were to direct him to return to the colony and settle his accounts. They were also directed to inform themselves thoroughly of the past transactions in this quarter, and with every fact which would enable them to advise the Congress intelligently; and to act for the common interest of the colonies.⁽⁶¹⁾

These instructions invested the committee with all the powers which the Congress itself could have exercised, and they were limited in their action only, by their own discretion. The committee immediately departed upon their mission, the history of which is given in their report on the 6th of the following July, and the various letters written by themselves and others in the intervening period.

Upon reaching Ticonderoga, the committee found a remarkable condition of affairs. Colonel Hinman, with his regiment, had arrived; but, instead of turning over the command, Arnold had transferred it to Captain Herrick, from whom Colonel Hinman's men were obliged to take their orders, or were not suffered to pass to and from the garrison. The committee

⁽⁶¹⁾ See Proc. Prov. Con. of Mass., June 13, 1775.

entered upon their investigations, determined to inform themselves of all the facts before taking any active measures. Their report sheds light upon the capture, and confirms the correctness of Allen's account. This report ought to be accepted as full proof of the facts it contains, for it comprises the conclusions of an impartial committee of the body under which Arnold claimed to have acted, made upon a thorough examination of the facts, within a month after the events transpired. The committee had copies of Arnold's commission and instructions. They state that they "informed themselves, as fully as they were able, in what manner he had executed his said commission and instructions, and find that he was with Colonel Allen and others at the time the fort was reduced, *but do not find that he had any men under his command at the time of the reduction of these fortresses!*" After the lapse of nearly a hundred years, can Arnold's admirers hope successfully to contradict this *quasi* judicial determination of the question which the committee had undertaken to set at rest forever! ^[62]

Some of the experiences of the committee it would have been indiscreet further to publish to the enemy, and they must be sought elsewhere than in their report. But the facts were recorded at the time by men of unimpeachable veracity. The report states that Arnold did possess himself of the sloop on the lake, at St. Johns, and that the committee found him "claiming the command of said sloop and a schooner, which is said to be the property of Major Skene; and also all the posts and fortresses at the south end of Lake Champlain and Lake George, although Colonel Hinman was at Ticonderoga, with near a thousand men under his command at the several posts."

Arnold was at Crown Point, some twelve miles from Ticonderoga, when the committee arrived; and, without interfering

^[62]See Report of this Committee. Force, 1596.

with affairs at the latter place, the committee passed on to the former, where the vessels were. Arnold was prepared for their reception, and had sent a strong force on board the vessels. The committee informed him of their commission, and, at his request, gave him a copy of their instructions, upon reading which, "he seemed greatly disconcerted." His conclusion was no sudden outburst of anger. It was taken "after some time contemplating upon the matter;" and after the committee had informed him, in writing, that it was the expectation of the Congress of Massachusetts, that the officer in command of the Continental forces should command the posts, and that the committee required him to conform to the instructions of the Congress, and deliver the command to the proper Connecticut officer. He then peremptorily refused to comply with the instructions, and declared that "he would not be second in command to any person whomsoever." It is unimportant whether the committee thereupon discharged him from the service, as stated by Mott, or he resigned his commission in the impudent letter of June 24th, which he sent to the committee.⁽⁶³⁾

The result was a mutiny! for which Arnold was responsible as the chief instigator. According to Mott's statement, the committee desired the privilege of speaking with Arnold's men, but were not permitted to do so. Arnold and a portion of his men retired on board the vessels, and threatened to sail to St. Johns and deliver themselves up to the enemy. He states that Arnold had disbanded all the men but those on board the vessels, which had drawn off into the lake; that the committee left the post in a state of anarchy; that they were threatened and ill-treated while there, and when they came away, *were actually fired upon with swivels and small arms by Arnold's people.*

⁽⁶³⁾ See App., No. 25.

Mott thereupon obtained permission from Colonel Hinman to proceed from Ticonderoga to Crown Point, and, if possible, board the vessels. He was accompanied by Colonel Sullivan, a member of the committee, Lieutenant Halsey, and a Mr. Duer, one of the civil appointees of New York, for the county of Charlotte, who was very influential in composing the difficulty. They got on board the vessels about eleven o'clock the next morning. Arnold separated the party, placing some of the members on each vessel, under guards with fixed bayonets, and so kept them until evening, when they were permitted to return. They found opportunities, however, to converse with the men, and convinced some of them of their error, who declared that they had been deceived by Arnold. Colonel Sullivan was grossly insulted while on board the vessels, especially by Brown, one of Arnold's captains. The party returned to Ticonderoga, whence Colonel Hinman sent a detachment back to Crown Point, which succeeded, the next day, in gaining possession of the vessels,

On the 24th, Arnold made a written resignation of his commission, and the committee, with the aid of Colonel Hinman, John Brown, Surgeon Jonas Fay, and others, succeeded in restoring the order and discipline of the two posts, and in arranging all the difficulties with the men. Their judicious conduct rescued the country from a peril almost as fearful as that in which Arnold afterwards involved it on the banks of the Hudson. It seems almost inconceivable how any officer of the Revolutionary army could have trusted Arnold after this conclusive proof of his utter selfishness and want of patriotism. Had he carried out his threat of delivering up the vessels, and with them the command of the lake to the enemy, the consequences must have been disastrous, if not fatal, to the cause of popular liberty.^[51]

⁵¹ Force, 1591, 96.

Returning now to Arnold's own account of affairs in this vicinity, which has been somewhat anticipated in giving a connected relation of the action of Massachusetts in the premises, we find his next letter dated on the 23d of May, at Crown Point, and directed to the Massachusetts Committee of Safety.⁽⁶⁵⁾ It is unimportant, except for its ungenerous remarks upon the failure of Allen's attempt upon St. Johns. On the 26th, he advises the same committee of his purpose to send some of the captured guns to Massachusetts as soon as possible. It is in his letter of May 29th, to the Continental Congress, that he undertakes to give the second version of his participation in the command at the time of the capture.⁽⁶⁶⁾

Arnold could never tell the story of his command twice alike. Three weeks before, he had written, "*I had agreed with Colonel Allen to issue further orders jointly.*" Now he says, that near the fort, he "met one Colonel Allen, with about one hundred men, raised at the instance of *some gentlemen from Connecticut, who agreed* that we should take a joint command." He adds, "some dispute arising between Colonel Allen and myself, prevented my carrying my orders into execution." The "gentlemen from Connecticut" have recorded their emphatic contradiction of the statements of this letter.

The third and concluding version of the joint command, although nominally the work of a third person, bears strong evidence that it was inspired by Arnold himself, the confessed author of the two others. In Thomas' "Oracle of Liberty," of May 24th, an account of the capture, given by Colonel Easton, had been published, which assigned the command to Allen, gave Easton a conspicuous position in the seizure, but made no mention of Arnold. It was contradicted in Holt's "New York Journal," of June 25th, by a writer under the pseudonym of "Veritas," who professed to have been one of

(65) Force, 693.

Force, 734.

the attacking party, and an eye-witness of the capture. According to "*Veritas*," the Connecticut Committee were joined by Easton, *after their arrival upon the Grants*, though it is well known that Easton came with the committee from Pittsfield. He states that Arnold, having concerted a similar plan, "proceeded to the party under the command of Colonel Allen," and that "when Colonel Arnold made known his commission, etc., *it was voted by the officers present* that he should take a joint command with Colonel Allen (Colonel Easton not presuming to take any command)." According to *Veritas*, the Green Mountain Boys were very unwilling to cross the lake; but "Colonel Arnold, with much difficulty, persuaded about forty" of them to do so! When they got over, these still wished to await the arrival of the rest of the party, but "Arnold urged to storm the fort immediately, declaring he would enter it alone if no man had courage enough to follow him!" He says that Arnold was the first to enter the fort, Allen being about five yards behind him; that Arnold demanded the surrender—Easton being hid away in an old barrack, under pretence of drying his gun. He also relates that he had the pleasure of seeing Easton heartily kicked by Arnold," etc.

Arnold has now exhausted all the sources from which his joint command could be derived, save one. First, he has it by an agreement with Allen himself; next, by an agreement with the Connecticut Committee, and, thirdly, by a vote of the officers present. Had he given a fourth account, he would probably have secured it from the vote of the men, who proposed to disband upon the suggestion that they were to be placed under his authority.

The remarkable effusion of "*Veritas*" is followed in Force's Archives⁽⁶⁷⁾ by three documents, which clearly evince the same paternity. One of them, directed to "The Printer," refers to

(67) Force, 1085, 90.

an address "from the inhabitants on Lake Champlain, to the worthy Colonel Arnold, who, on the first alarm of the ravage and bloodshed committed by the Ministerial troops at Lexington, marched with his company of cadets, from New Haven, to the assistance of his bleeding countrymen." It states that on the march he concerted the plan for the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and the Provincial Congress and Committee of Safety approving of his plan, and confiding in his judgment and fidelity, commissioned him to reduce the same, which, "by his vigilance and prudence he soon effected;" that, without the loss of one man, he obtained the command of an extent of country one hundred and sixty miles in length, which cost the British nation two millions of money and two campaigns," etc., etc. The writer consoles himself for the loss of a Warren, and many other worthy men, by the reflection that *an Arnold is yet preserved*, "who, though enemies misrepresent his conduct, will yet be found to merit the highest approbation."

The address to Arnold is still more fulsome and adulatory. It purports to have been signed by the principal inhabitants on the lake, in behalf of themselves and six hundred families contiguous thereto, who, deeply impressed with a sense of his merit, and their weighty obligations to him, testify their gratitude and thankfulness for his important conquests, his benevolence to the inhabitants, his tenderness to the prisoners, his humane and polite manner, which have shown a bright example "of that elevation and generosity of soul, which nothing less than real magnanimity and *innate virtue* could inspire." After a column of this material, they conclude by expressing their sorrow for his approaching removal, and lamenting their situation at the thoughts of losing him. The receipt of this document is acknowledged by a note from Arnold, printed in the same connection.

There can be no necessity for wasting time in the refutation of these documents addressed to, or concerning, a man who at that date was actually engaged in corrupting his men, and creating a mutiny. That Arnold supervised, if he did not dictate them, is as certain as if they appeared over his own signature. Of course the address is not signed; the name is not given of one of the principal inhabitants, or six hundred families. There were not that number within ten miles of Lake Champlain, and the few settlers along the lake held Arnold in detestation. Who but Arnold, or his valet, could have given that minute account of his actions, and even his thoughts, all the way from Cambridge to Castleton? Who but he, in the assaulting party, would have written such an account? Such trash is only valuable to enable us to form an estimate of the man—proud, arrogant, selfish, and so conceited that he thought all the world admired him. These documents proclaim their authorship, and refute themselves. They are contradicted by every witness, every known fact, and every circumstance in every important particular.

The advocates of Arnold seek to strengthen their case by asserting that he remained here in command after Allen had withdrawn, and his party had returned to their homes. My limits will not allow me to pursue the history into further details. I leave the subject with this statement: Arnold was never in command of Ticonderoga during this campaign. Immediately after the capture, he left Ticonderoga, where he was hated by the men, and an annoyance to the officers, and went to Crown Point, where Allen and Warner were content that he should exercise his brief authority. Whatever he did, was done there, and there the Massachusetts Committee found him, when they finally dismissed him from the service.

Benedict Arnold possessed few of the qualities of which heroes are made. The native generosity of his countrymen

has induced them to give him more credit than he ever deserved for his service in the cause of popular liberty, and has led some of them to attempt excuses for his crimes. He has even been represented as the victim of misfortune, slowly driven to treason by the consciousness of unrequited merit, and the conviction that inferior men were preferred before him. The effort to make him the hero of Ticonderoga is of recent origin, and was never undertaken while the witnesses were living, and their evidence fresh in the public mind. The desire of the American people not to deal unjustly with a great criminal has given it some currency. The facts of his life, when thoroughly comprehended, assign him his true place in history—among the most dangerous of unprincipled men. They disclose a character in which selfishness was the controlling element. It gave impulse to every thought of his mind; it directed every action of his body. It was displayed in the precocity of a wicked childhood; even then he was wayward and vicious, seeking his keenest pleasures in the torture and destruction of dumb, defenseless animals. As he grew older, his corrupted tastes and evil habits destroyed the happiness of an excellent mother; and an attempt to murder, while yet a boy, sufficed to cloud a sister's whole life with sorrow. The son of an obscure sea-faring man, he varied the monotony of his youthful experiences by voyages to the West Indies, horse trading in Canada, fighting a duel, and enlistments in and desertions from the service. Such activity in evil courses indicated ability, if he could be subjected to restraint, and friends were found who furnished capital to establish him in business, in the hope that he would settle down and abandon his wicked ways. The news of Lexington found him a small druggist, and the captain of a volunteer company in New Haven. Love of excitement, and a passion for destructiveness, more than any motive of patriotism, led him to join the army. How he came to this

frontier we have already seen. Here, he claimed that his early experiences had given him a knowledge of naval affairs; and, with the schooner which Herrick had captured from Major Skene, and some smaller craft, he fitted out a little fleet, and with it took the British vessels on the lake. Of that force he was the real commander, and of none other. His teeming brain daily gave birth to some rash and dangerous project, by which his own advancement was to be promoted. He divided men into two parties,—his friends, who admired his greatness, and his enemies, who were envious of his fame, and were constantly engaged in efforts to undermine and destroy him. He secured his commission, confident that it would give him the chief command in this quarter, and his failure to secure it filled him with angry disappointment. He was unpopular with the soldiers, feared by his inferiors, despised by all. We have seen how his rashness involved the colonies in serious difficulties, and how prudently Massachusetts undertook to control him, and make him useful to the country, while he was impressing all who knew him with what Captain Mott calls “his extraordinary ill conduct.” Impatient under investigation, maddened that his authority should be questioned, unable to dispose of Colonel Hinman, he was ready, when the Massachusetts Committee reached Ticonderoga, to scout their authority and defy their power. When peremptorily ordered to turn over his command, this model patriot and military leader, with such of his men as he could control, broke into open mutiny, retired on board the vessels, and threatened to desert and deliver them up to the enemy. He even attempted the lives of the committee, after he had subjected them to threats and imprisonment. Finally, having quarrelled with his brother officers, abandoned by his soldiers, unable longer to resist the committee, powerless for further evil, in disgrace with everybody, he flung up his commission and vanished from the scene. The war presented no

parallel instance of treasonable insubordination. Was it strange that Colonel Brown, in the next campaign, and years before his greater crime, posted him as a robber of prisoners, who surrendered on the faith of his promises; a murderer of defenseless non-combatants, and a traitor ready made when his price was tendered! that he should marry a Tory heiress, and enter upon a life of extravagant debauchery, which could only be supported by fraud and peculation upon the public treasury; that he was convicted by a court martial, and reprimanded by Washington! that his treason culminated at the first favorable opportunity; and, finally, that his murderous ravages in his native and other States, should have shown that all the accidents of all the wars on this continent never brought to the surface of public life any man so thoroughly depraved as he whose name has become a synonym for the highest treason! True, he fought well at Stillwater, but at that moment he was devising plans for revenge upon his associates for fancied slights, and plotting new schemes to relieve himself from the debts in which his courses had involved him. A few acts of bravery, a few spasms of patriotism, scattered like fitful gleams through the darkness of a wicked life, instead of excusing his treachery, only serve to make it more conspicuous. It is time to have done with apologies for the worst man ever born on American soil; with efforts to excite the world's admiration for a man who possibly might have been a patriot, if he had not been a traitor. It is time to strip from his deformity the mantle which a mistaken charity has thrown over it. In the world's history there have been two conspicuous traitors. But there is a choice between them, and one was the better man,—for he repented of his treason, cried out that he had shed innocent blood, threw down his thirty pieces, and went and hanged himself! The other wasted his price upon his wife, was pensioned by his purchasers, and went detested and unre-

pentant to his foreign grave ! He was a bad boy and a worse man, depraved and unprincipled from his cradle to his latest day. His claims to the respect of true men are just as good, when he is selling his country on the banks of the Hudson, as when he is writing false letters from the shores of Lake Champlain.

It is neither my desire nor my purpose to defend Ethan Allen. I am not here to set forth his virtues, or apologise for his faults. That there were grave defects in his character is neither denied nor sought to be concealed. His generous, impulsive nature; his complete self-confidence, which led him to believe himself equal to any enterprise; his intense hatred for tyranny and oppression in all their forms, were qualities which do not exist in man, except in connection with strong passions, and other objectionable elements. He belonged to a class who are most popular with those who know them best, and are usually misjudged by those who know little of them. For he was careless of the opinions of others, and seemed to delight in misleading them in their judgment of himself. He despised the acts by which popularity is courted; and those who count him a demagogue may be defied to point to a single word he ever uttered, a single act he ever performed, merely to gain the popular applause. He was of large stature and strong muscle, capable of great exertion and endurance, and he feared nothing under the sun. His education was better than that of the average of men in those days, when but little time could be spared for instruction, in the severe and universal struggle for existence. With proper training, he would have been capable of intellectual eminence, for he has left many evidences that he was able to seize and present effectually the points in an argument. Falsehood and tergiversation were so offensive to him, that he would not tolerate them even to promote his own

interests, and he detested injustice of every description with all the energy of his intense organization. Love of liberty was the controlling passion of his soul, inspiring every impulse, directing every action. In the presence of sorrow, he was gentle as a woman, and among the many traditions concerning him which have been preserved, those are most numerous which show his effective service in behalf of the poor, the unfortunate and the distressed. If his faults were grave, who has the right to say that they were not counterbalanced by his virtues?

But it is Allen's conduct during the campaign of 1775 that we are now considering, and in that, while there is much to praise, there is little to censure. Called out for a special purpose, on a moment's warning, with no preparation for a long service, when their work was done, Allen and his men expected to return to their homes. They remained here, performing all their duties as long as they were needed, and until they were properly relieved. Allen constantly reported to his superiors, and faithfully obeyed their orders. When Colonel Hinman reached Ticonderoga with his regiment, he was received cordially by Allen, who promptly turned over his command. Convinced that the Revolution had need of the Green Mountain Boys, Allen and Warner then hurried to Philadelphia, and asked from the Continental Congress authority to form them into a regiment. "I ask the privilege," Allen had already written, "of raising a small regiment of Rangers. It is, truly, the first favor I ever asked of the government; if it be granted, I will zealously endeavor to conduct myself for the best good of my country." In the presence of that august body, face to face with his old enemy, Duane, he told the story of Ticonderoga, and again presented his petition. The leader of a people claimed to be in rebellion, opened the doors of the Congress by his manly appeal. That body resolved to pay the VermonTERS for their service here, and granted authority to raise

a regiment, conditioned upon the approval of New York. With the resolution in his hands, authenticated by the signature of John Hancock, he returned to New York city, where the Provincial Congress was in session. There, was exhibited a scene which illustrates the patriotism of the time. To that Congress, whose authority he had so many times defied, and to whose constituents he had applied the "beech seal," he proposed to bury the old bitter feud beneath the wave of liberty then sweeping over the land. In vain the speculators in Vermont lands, and their agents, protested. In vain they exclaimed that he was "a felon, an outlaw with a price upon his head, and that it would disgrace the Congress to admit him within their doors!" "I move that Ethan Allen be permitted to have an audience at this board!" exclaims a member. "I second the motion!" shouts Smith, of Dutchess, and by a vote of two to one, it was (says the record) "ordered that Ethan Allen be admitted." And the record continues, "Seth Warner was admitted at the same time."⁽⁶³⁾ What Allen said, we do not know; but we do know that the envoys from the mountains were heard, and that, at the same setting, the Congress, which a year before had proclaimed Allen a traitor, and offered a reward to any who would hunt him down, confirmed the order of the Continental Congress, and sent Allen to General Schuyler, with authority to raise the regiment, which should elect its own officers, and with directions which secured Schuyler's co-operation. It did no great harm that "the County of Albany" (the headquarters of the speculators) "and Mr. John DeLancey dissented to the above order and resolve."

The regiment was raised. Then occurred another event which brought out the qualities of Allen's character. Remember, he had been the military leader of the Grants from the beginning; his energy had overcome all the obstacles, and he had

⁽⁶³⁾ Force, 1338.

procured authority to raise the regiment—he should have been its colonel. Now, when the election of officers was made, the older settlers, distrusting his bold impetuosity, ignored his claims, and chose the more cautious Warner in his place. It was a cold and cruel neglect, for which there was no excuse. He might well be pardoned for having expressed his natural indignation. Did he resent the neglect, and, like Arnold, threaten desertion to the enemy? No! He scarcely uttered a word of complaint. He knew there was a place for him in the Revolution—if not as an officer, then as a private. “I hope the Congress will remember me,” he wrote, “for I desire to remain in the service,” and with all the energy of his soul he went into the contest. He fought his country’s battles, and in her behalf endured, without a murmur, long years of insult and imprisonment. His sacrifices and sufferings every Vermonter knows. It does not surprise them that, three years later, the Father of his Country said of him: “His firmness and fortitude seem to have placed him out of the reach of misfortune. There is something about him that *commands* our admiration.” There was a place for him in the Revolution—there is a place for him in history. He needs no monument to perpetuate his fame. As the wheels of time roll on, a grateful country forgets his faults, and remembers him for his daring courage, his generous heart, his fidelity to his country, and his unselfish devotion to the State he loved. Compare such a man with Benedict Arnold! The soldier of freedom with the soldier of fortune! Hercules to Cacus! Hyperion to a Satyr! “A beast, that wants discourse of reason,” knows which is the hero and which the fraud.

I am aware that criticisms have been made upon the language in which Allen asserts that the demand for surrender was made. For example, it is said that he could not have made the reference to the Continental Congress, because that body

was not in session until several hours after the surrender. These are too puerile to deserve notice. They never raised a doubt that the language was used, save in the minds of the very limited number of persons no better informed than the authors of these suggestions.

The subsequent history of Ticonderoga has many points of interest. The command of Schuyler; the return here, in 1776, of the remnants of Montgomery's shattered army, saved by the energy of the Vermonters, turning out in answer to Wooster's call; the coming of Gates,—his summons to the Green Mountain militia, who were publicly thanked by him for defending yonder fort from capture; their gathering here again in 1777, under Warner and St. Clair,—the retreat of the latter, the stubborn, gallant fight at Hubbardton; Bennington and Saratoga; the ravages of the British in 1778—their invasion in 1780, when they scoured the country as far down as Stillwater; the negotiations with Canada, in 1781, which have given so much distress to the enemies of Vermont; the appearance of the British here in force, in October of that year, when the Vermonters "put the hook in their nose, and turned them back by the way whence they came," with others, enough to fill a volume, must be wholly omitted. Many of them have been recorded in that best of "Early Histories," written by your venerable ex-President. They are incidents over which the children of Vermont will linger with interest through all coming time.

I have, thus, once more presented the history of the capture of Ticonderoga. I think I have referred to all the material evidence which bears upon the origin of the expedition, or the question of command. Right well I know that I have repeated an "oft told tale." The assaults of Allen's maligners; their

claims in behalf of Arnold have been often exposed and refuted. But the leaven of old prejudices against Vermont and her early settlers is still active. There are those who, even now, cannot be comforted at the thought, that in spite of all their enemies, the Green Mountain Boys wrought out their independence,—who believe that a false charge acquires strength by repetition. There are few false charges in history which have been reiterated with such blind malice, such persistence in error, as those against Allen and the Vermonters. When once set in motion, the vitality of a falsehood in history is something surprising. You may refute it, but it will not stay refuted. You may beat it down to-day, to-morrow it is up again, as vigorous as ever. Nay! you may slay it as dead as the creature of a prehistoric age, smitten to its brain center by a thunderbolt of the Almighty,—buried below the rocks of the Laurentian epoch, and turned to stone by the chemistry of cosmic ages; and there shall be some “man with the muck rake,” some delver in the ruins of the past, who will rob the tomb of its skeleton, and bring it forth into the light of day; and, while its shape offends the sight of all others, to him it will seem an angelic form, of ambrosial fragrance and seraphic beauty! Thus has it been with the falsehoods against Allen and his men. Three times they have been refuted by members of this society. The origin of the expedition has been demonstrated and minutely described by an accomplished scholar of the State whence it came; ⁽⁶⁸⁾ the historians of our country, some of them honored sons of New York, are agreed in their conclusions; and yet these writers of the new school of history, without facts, go on repeating their libels as though they were made stronger by repetition. There was a time when they might have been excused by the superficial knowledge and bitter prejudices of their authors. But not now. Those, who now repeat them, know them to be untrue. How-

⁽⁶⁸⁾ App. 26.

ever slight their general knowledge of American history, they must be presumed to have read the evidence which has been republished in answer to their charges; their ignorance of which, in the preparation of such charges, was wholly inexcusable. The repetition of such statements, after the evidence has been produced, and they have been pointed to its depositories, therefore, can have neither excuse nor apology. But they are repeated in the journals, in magazine articles, in addresses, occasional speeches,—in every form which may attract the public attention. Even a recent guide book offers to the traveler historical information like this: That the action of the Connecticut Committee was inspired by the letter of John Brown, from Canada; that the command was exercised, and the capture made by Arnold *and* Allen,—placing the traitor first; that Romans was with the party at Castleton, when Mott's careful record shows that "he left at Bennington, and joined no more;" that "an arrangement was made by which Arnold and Allen were to hold *something like* a joint command." In this book, the story of "Veritas," "six hundred families included," is rehashed and presented as a delicious morsel of history; and, while Arnold is portrayed as the "restorer of harmony,"—the Bayard without reproach,—Allen is declared to be "a sort of Robin Hood," who "played the part of a swaggering brigand."

But the gem of this volume, is the modest conclusion of its author, that he leaves "*Allen less a hero than he found him!*" Poor, indeed, is the record which can be dinmed or diminished by such an assailant! And these statements are to be accepted as facts in "the new era," upon which, according to this reverend defamer, "the study of American history has now entered." For the welfare of his flock, it is to be hoped that he is a safer guide in the "narrow way" than he is in the history of Ticonderoga.

In view of all the facts, it may not have been an unprofitable use of our time to have spent an hour, here, upon the ground and theatre of these important events, in vindicating the truth of a familiar history. Here was the first substantial triumph in arms of American liberty,—the step in advance which made retreat dishonorable, reconciliation impracticable. Here was the first victory, which strengthened the brave and confirmed the wavering. After the morning of the 10th of May, 1775, there was no alternative between thirteen conquered colonies and an independent nation. This triumph was won by our forefathers. It is our duty to see that their honors are not stolen away. I have no hope that I have presented this subject in any clearer light than those who have preceded me. But none of them have attempted to bring all the facts together, and present the entire history in detail, in a connected form. This work I have endeavored to do. I believe I have referred to all the material evidence, or pointed out the places where it may be found. If any of it is new, it will delight me to have made such a contribution to the treasury of history. As I understand history, its chief value consists in pointing out the repositories of the facts of which it is made, that those who choose may examine them for themselves. On such facts, so far as our present subject is concerned, Vermont may trust her cause to the impartial judgment of the world. Let diligent students of our revolutionary history,—who have no prejudices to satisfy, no preconceived opinions to support, no passions to blind them, and no theories to maintain,—answer the question which I proposed, at the commencement of this address, for themselves. Let them say whether it must not be answered now, as every honest historian has answered it for ninety-seven years? “*Ticonderoga was captured by the Green Mountain Boys, led by Ethan Allen!*”

I hoped, on this occasion, to have briefly referred to that single other charge which the assailants of Vermont have attempted to establish upon the facts of her early record,—that of infidelity to the cause of the country, in the negotiations with Haldimand, in 1780–81. This charge was made at the time, and refuted, somewhat contemptuously by those whose integrity in this transaction was questioned; and it has been refuted as often as it has been renewed. There is a considerable amount of evidence on this subject, which has not recently been made public. In connection with facts already known, it not only excludes from that transaction any taint of suspicion, but shows it to have been a work of statesmanship, which not only protected Vermont in the most critical period of her existence, when threatened by powerful invasions, and by dangers which might have overwhelmed any State,—every soldier and gun of the national forces were withdrawn from her territory, and she was left to defend herself by her own resources,—but which powerfully contributed to the success of the national cause. Had time permitted, I should have laid some of this evidence before you. But it matters little; Vermont can afford to wait. The evidence will be preserved, and, if I do not, some other Vermonter will make it public. And then the world will know that no State in the Union had such a struggle for existence as ours; and that, in the whole twenty years of her stormy battle for life, there is no important fact or incident to be regretted by her children. Her early history will stand, in completeness and in detail, more interesting, dramatic and creditable to her pioneers, than that of any of her sisters. She entered upon her twenty years war, defended by a few courageous men. She carried it on against the forces of nature, surrounded by enemies, threatening her on every side. But her enemies never invaded her soil, unless to their own destruction.

She came out of the contest, not only the victor, but respected by all her sister States. With her honor untarnished, she took her seat as an equal at the National council board, where her voice has ever since been powerful on the side of freedom and justice ; where it has never been raised in behalf of oppression or wrong. Her sons would be recreant descendants of her early soldiers and statesmen, if they did not guard her honor as their most precious inheritance.

Nor should the acts or words of individuals be charged against any of her sister States. Vermont has no controversy with New York—she never had. On the contrary, she is proud of the Empire State, and rejoices in her rapid march toward the commercial supremacy of the world. To suppose that the State of New York ever sought to swallow up Vermont, is to misunderstand the facts of history. There were “Rings,” a hundred years ago, as powerful and selfish as those of to-day. One of them, composing high State officials, land jobbers and speculators, before the Revolution, for a time controlled the legislative and executive powers of that State, as effectively as others have controlled them at a recent period. They parcelled out the favors of royalty, and the lands of honest owners, to their favorites, but they never had the support or sympathy of the *people* of New York. The proof meets us at every turn. They proclaimed rewards, large and tempting in those days, for the capture of Ethan Allen. He went fearlessly to Albany, and no man molested him. They never could enforce their disgraceful laws, and never tried to enforce them. Their processes failed of service, for the “power of the county” would never come forth at their call. Their few attempts at arrest more nearly resembled kidnapping expeditions, than the ordinary execution of legal warrants. The instincts of a people are almost always on the side of justice. Those of the people of New York were always with the Ver-

monsters. Later, her statesmen took up the contest in favor of Vermont; and stayed the hands of the speculators. Her historians have faithfully recorded the heroism of the Green Mountain Boys. There is no enmity between the two peoples, no jealousy between the two States. Nowhere have the false charges of the speculators of 1770, and the calumnies of a few of their descendants a century later, been visited with severer condemnation than among the intelligent historians, the distinguished statesmen, and the honest people of that great State, upon whose soil you have met to-day.

Fellow Citizens, Friends, Brother Vermonters! my work, here, is done. Would that it were better done; but, such as it is, I lay it on the altar of our history. It has, indeed, been a pleasant task for me. A Vermonter never knows how well he loves the Mountain State, until he has wandered beyond her borders, and lived among other surroundings. Then, every acre of her rugged soil, every leaf of her history, becomes dear to him. Then, he is as prompt in her defense against all assailants, as any true-hearted son to defend a beloved mother. I could not be otherwise than loyal to her! In the shadow of yonder mountains, four generations of my family have lived. There my children were born, and there I hope to rest, when the toils of this life are closed forever. Glorious Vermont! with thy life-giving air, thy grand old mountains, fertile valleys, laughing brooks, and lakes of silver! There is no fact of thy history which is not precious in the hearts of thy children,—no blot on thy fair fame for them to remove! Grandeur and more glorious than the wealth of Croesus, or the power of the Cæsars, is the heritage of thy people! What shall outvalue it? for what earthly treasure shall it be exchanged? Which of its elements shall be parted with, or cast aside? Behold, Vermonters, the wealth of your

possessions! The example and influence of those early pioneers; a long line of honored statesmen, unbroken from the days of the "Grand Committee" to the present hour; the memories of Ticonderoga, Hubbardton and Bennington; your soldiers, first at every call, in the front on every field; rolling back the tide of invasion at Saratoga and Plattsburgh,—charging the heights of Chepultepec, unlocking the gates of victory at Gettysburg, gaining a lost battle at Cedar Creek, and aiding in the final crush of Rebellion on the banks of the Appomattox; your judiciary, never tarnished by the breath of suspicion; your legislature, incorruptible for an hundred years; your municipal organizations, town, city and county, never yet dishonored by a "ring;" your colleges and common schools, free to all, of every class, condition or color; your churches in every hamlet; your benevolent institutions, covering the poor at home, and stretching forth their protecting arms to the farthest islands of the sea; your thousand homes of comfort and plenty, cheered by affection and warmed by love; a prudent, plain and vigorous race of men; well trained, happy children; glorious, true hearted women. A better government, a happier people, will be sought in vain, within the limits of enlightened civilization. Such, Vermonters, is your inheritance, earned by the sacrifices and the blood of the men we honor to-day. For it all,—for her past history and present example; for all that Vermont has been, and is, and promises to be, you are largely their debtors. Teach, then, your children to keep their memories always green; and from the depths of the reverent, grateful hearts of every son and daughter of the State we love, let my closing prayer ascend to Heaven: "Vermont! God bless her! God bless her!"

APPENDIX.

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The reference, in the text, to Montcalm's exertions for the protection of the English, after the surrender of Fort William Henry, seems to be sustained by a fair balance of cotemporary evidence; and is confirmed by what is learned from other sources, of the character of the French commander. But it cannot be denied, that a portion of the evidence bears heavily against Montcalm, and indicates that he made little exertion to prevent the butchery. A specimen of this description of proof may be found in the graphic account of the massacre given by Captain Carver, who was one of the few inmates of the fort who were fortunate enough to escape. He says: "That in consideration of the gallant defense the garrison had made, they were permitted to march out with all the honors of war; to be allowed covered wagons to transport their baggage to Fort Edward, and a guard to protect them from the fury of the savages." But he declares, that although suffered to retain their arms, they were deprived of every round of ammunition, and when the prisoners were drawn out, they found the column completely surrounded by the savages. They began by stripping the prisoners of their clothing, and slaughtering the sick and wounded. The war whoop was finally given, and the Indians began to murder those nearest to them, without distinction. Men, women and children were despatched in the most wanton and cruel manner, and immediately scalped. Many of the savages drank the blood of their victims, as it flowed from their wounds.

"We now," he continues, "perceived, though too late to avail us, that we were to expect no relief from the French; and that, contrary to the agreement they had so lately signed, to allow us a sufficient force to protect us from these insults, they tacitly permitted them, for I could plainly perceive the French officers walking about at some distance, discussing together, with apparent unconcern. For the honor of human nature, I would hope that this flagrant breach of every sacred law proceeded rather from the savage disposition of the Indians, which I acknowledge it is sometimes almost impossible to control, and which might now, unexpectedly, have arrived to a pitch not easily to be restrained, than to any pre-meditated design in the French commander. An unprejudiced observer would, however, be apt to conclude that a body of ten thousand Christian troops (*most Christian troops*) had it in their power to prevent the massacre from becoming so general." After a thrilling account of his own escape to Fort Edward, he concludes:

"It was computed that 1500 persons were killed or made prisoners by these savages during this fatal day. Many of the latter were carried off by them, and never returned. A few, through favorable accidents, found their way back to their native country, after having experienced a long and painful captivity."—*Carver's Travels in America, Ed. 1778, pp. 316 to 325.*

—An evidence of the existence of the war between the two great Indian nations, to which reference is made in the text, at the discovery of Canada, may, perhaps, be found in the following extract from the relation of Cartier's second voyage. It was upon this voyage, in the year 1535, that he ascended the St. Lawrence to Hochelaga, and gave the name "Mont Royale" to the mountain, at the foot of which is the present city of Montreal. From this mountain, looking southward, he was the first white man who beheld the Adirondacks and the Green Mountains. After his return, in boats, down the river, to the Island of Orleans, where his ships had been left, the "Lord of the Country" came to him, and desired him, the next day, "to come and see Canada, which he promised to doe."

"The next day, being the 13th of the month (October, 1535), he, with all his gentlemen, and fiftie mariners, very well appointed, went to visite *Donnacona* and his people, about a league from our ships. The place where they make their abode is called *Stadacona*. When we were about a stone's cast from their houses, many of the inhabitants came to meet us, being all set in a ranke, and (as their custome is) the men all on one side, and the women on the other, still dancing and singing, without any ceasing; and, after we had saluted and received one another, our Capitaine gave them knives, and such other sleight things; then he caused all the women and children to passe along before him, giving each one a ring of Tin, for which they gave him hearty thanks; that done, our Capitaine was, by *Donnacona* and *Taignoagny*, brought to see their houses, which (the qualitie considered) were very well provided, and stored with such victuals as the countrey yieldeth, to passe away the winter withall. Then they shewed us the skins of five men's heads, spread upon boards, as we doe use parchments. *Donnacona* told us that they were skins of *Toudamani*, a people dwelling toward the South, who continually doe warre against them. Moreover, they told us that it was two yeares past that those *Toudamans* came to assault them, yea, even into the said river, in an island that lyeth over against *Saguenay*, where they had bin the night before, as they were going a warfaring in *Hognedo*, with 200 persons, men women and children, who beeing all asleepe in a fort that they had made, they were assaulted by the said *Toudamans*, who put fire round about the fort, and as they would have come out of it to save themselves, they were all shaine, only five excepted, who escaped. For which losse they yet sorrowed, shewing with signes that one day they would be revenged; that done, we came to our ships againe."—*Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III., p. 223.*

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Peleg Sunderland was one of the most active and energetic of the early settlers of Vermont. *John Brown* says that he "was an old Indian hunter, acquainted with the *St. Francois* Indians and their language." His associate upon this journey was *Winthrop Hoyt*, who had been many years a captive among the Indians of the *Caughuawaga* tribe. Through the familiarity of his guides with the habits and language of the Indians, *Mr. Brown* was able to ascertain that the latter had already been urged to join the Royal forces against the people of Boston, and that they had refused to do so. *Sunderland* and *Hoyt* remained among them

several days, and left them well disposed towards the New Englanders, whom they promised to join, if they took any part in the contest. The importance, especially to the people upon the northern portion of the Grants, of Brown's mission, was very great. The result of open war which they most dreaded, was an invasion of the Indians from Canada, through the instigation of the British. Their neutrality enabled all the settlers on the Winooski River to remove, with their effects, to the south-western portion of the Grants, and the Indians did not become active participants in the contest until the invasion of Buegoyne, in 1777.

Sunderland was compensated by the Legislature of Vermont for this service in 1787. From his petition, it appears that he was employed in it for twenty-nine days, and the committee, to which his petition was referred, reported that the service was proved to their satisfaction, and, upon their recommendation, he received for it "eight pounds fourteen shillings, in hard money orders." In Graham's Sketch of Vermont, p. 134, the following account is given of Sunderland's connection with the name of Onion River: "This river took its name from the following circumstance: A Mr. Peleg Sunderland, in 1761, in hunting for beaver on this stream, lost his way, and was nearly exhausted with fatigue and hunger, when a party of Indians fortunately met him, and, with great humanity, relieved his wants, and saved him from perishing. Their provisions were poor, but what they had they freely gave, and their kindness made amends for more costly fare. Their whole store consisted of *onions*, and Mr. Sunderland then gave to the stream, near which he was so providentially preserved, the name of *Onion River*, which it has ever since retained."

In resistance to the authority of New York, before the Revolution, Sunderland was one of the active leaders,—the most active, perhaps, after Allen, Warner and Baker. Of this, abundant evidence is furnished by the affidavits published in the fourth volume of the "Documentary History of New York," p. 864, *et seq.* One *Jacob Marsh*, gives a pathetic account of his experiences in Socialborough, in the year 1773. He declares that the Bennington mob had "taken off the roof from his house, split a number of boards, and done him other damage." That he had "been informed, and verily believes, that John Smith and Peleg Sunderland (both of Socialboro') were the captains or leaders of the mob;" and that "he verily believes, that if he should act in his office of Justice of the Peace, in the said county of Charlotte, his effects and property would be destroyed by said mob, and that his life would be in danger." He was furnished with a certificate, dated at Arlington, November 20, 1773, in these words: "These may certify, that Jacob Marsh hath been examined and had on fare trial, so that our mob shall not meddle further with him, as long as he behaves." Benjamin Hough says that Sunderland was one of the party who "insisted that he should call together all the people of Durham, to their judgment seat,—that Allen declared that the day of judgment had come, when every man should be judged according to his works." Sunderland was one of the parties named in the celebrated proclamation, offering a reward for the capture of the leaders of the opposition to the New York authorities.

Sunderland appears to have been a captain of the Green Mountain Boys, during the Revolution. In 1782, a British officer having raised seventeen recruits in the county of Albany, undertook to conduct them through Vermont to Canada.

Passing through Arlington, they made prisoners of Lieutenant Blanchard and Sergeant Ormsbee, whose father, Major Ormsbee, upon learning of his capture, and the route which the party had taken, after sending an express to inform Col. Ira Allen of the facts, directed *Captain Sunderland*, with a party of men, to pursue the enemy. The Captain took his hounds with him, who followed the enemy, by their scent, but did not overtake them before they had been captured by a party under Captain Eastman, of Rupert, which had been sent out by Allen, and way-laid them in a mountain pass. The hounds of Captain Sunderland followed the tracks to the very feet of the prisoners, thus showing that they were the same party who had been pursued from Arlington. They were brought before the Governor, examined, and committed to Bennington jail, from whence they were sent to Canada, and exchanged for Vermonters, who were prisoners of war.—*Allen's Hist. Vt.*, pp. 230, 231.

The following is an extract from H. Hall's "*Early History of Vermont*," p. 471: "An examination of the records of Manchester, shows Captain Sunderland to have resided in that town until the year 1791; to have been the owner of real estate and other property, and to have possessed the confidence of his townsmen. In 1787, he was appointed at the head of a committee of three to draw instructions for the town representatives to the Assembly. On another occasion, he was one of a committee on the subject of the school lands of the town, and his name appears on the records on other important occasions. The date of his removal from Manchester, or the time and place of his death, has not been ascertained. He was evidently a man of intelligence, as well as of activity and enterprise, and of respectable standing in society."

It is stated by descendants of one of the families concerned, that Sunderland was one of the party who rescued the lost children of ELAD TAYLOR, in 1780, an incident which forms the subject of one of D. P. Thompson's most interesting tales. It also exhibits the traits of character which made Ethan Allen so popular among his neighbors. The relation is thus given by Zadock Thompson, in his "*Gazetteer of Vermont*," in a note to his account of the town of SUNDERLAND:

"On the 31st of May, 1780, two daughters of Eldad Taylor, of Sunderland, Keziah, aged seven, and Betsey, aged four years, wandered into the woods. Not returning, the parents became alarmed, and commenced a search, which, with the aid of a few neighbors, was continued through the night, without success. The next day the search was continued by large numbers from this and the neighboring towns, until the middle of the afternoon of the third day, when it was relinquished, and the people who had been out collected together, with the view of returning to their homes. Among these was one who thought the search should not be abandoned, and this was ETHAN ALLEN. He mounted a stump, and soon all eyes were fixed upon him. In his laconic manner, he pointed to the father and mother of the lost children, now petrified with grief and despair, bade each individual present, and especially those who were parents, to make the case of these parents his own, and then say whether they could go contentedly to their homes, without making one further effort to save these dear little ones, who were probably

now alive, but perishing with hunger, and spending their last strength in crying to father and mother to give them something to eat. As he spoke, his giant form was agitated, and the tears rolled down his cheeks, and, in the assembly of several hundred men, but few eyes were dry. "I'll go! I'll go!" was at length heard from every part of the crowd. They betook themselves to the woods, and before night the lost children were restored in safety to the arms of their distracted parents. It appeared that the first night they laid down at the foot of a large tree, and the second they spent upon a large rock. They obtained plenty of drink from the stream, but were very weak for want of food. They, however, both survived, and Betsey, the younger, is now (July, 1842) the wife of Captain John Munson, of Williston. The elder was the wife of John Jones, and died some years ago, in Williston."

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The letter of John Brown to the Committee of Correspondence in Boston.

MONTREAL, March 29, 1775.

GENTLEMEN:—Immediately after the reception of your letters and pamphlets, I went to *Albany*, to find the state of the lakes, and established a correspondence with Dr. *Joseph Young*. I found the lakes impassable at that time. About a fortnight after, I set out for *Canada*, and arrived at *St. Johns* in fourteen days, having undergone almost inconceivable hardships,—the Lake *Champlain* being very high, the small streams and rivers, and great part of the country, for twenty miles each side of the lake, especially towards *Canada*, under water. The Lake *Champlain* was partly open, and partly covered with dangerous ice, which, breaking loose for miles in length, our crafts drove us against an island, and froze us in for two days, after which we were glad to foot it on land.

I delivered your letters to Messrs. *Thomas Walker* and *Blake*, and was very kindly received by the Committee of Correspondence at *Montreal*, from whom I received the following state of affairs in the Province of *Quebeck*. Governor *Carleton* is no great politician; a man of sour, morose temper; a strong friend to Administration, and the late Acts of the *British* Parliament, which respect *America*, particularly the *Quebeck* Bill; has restrained the liberty of the press, that nothing can be printed without examination and license. Application has been made to him for printing the address from the Continental Congress, and a refusal obtained. All the troops in this Province are ordered to hold themselves in readiness for *Boston* at the shortest notice. Four or five hundred snow-shoes are prepared, for what use they know not. Mr. *Walker* has wrote you, about three weeks since, and has been very explicit. He informs you that two regular officers (lieutenants) have gone off in disguise, supposed to be gone to *Boston*, and to make what discovery they can through the country.

I have the pleasure and satisfaction to inform you that, through the industry and exertions of our friends in *Canada*, our enemies are not, at present, able to raise ten men for Administration. The weapons that have been used by our friends to thwart the constant endeavors of the friends of Government (so-called), have

been chiefly *in terrorem*. The *French* people are (as a body) extremely ignorant and bigoted, the curates or priests having almost the entire government of their temporal, as well as spiritual affairs. In *La Prairie*, a small village, about nine miles from *Montreal*, I gave my landlord a letter of address, and there being four *Cures* in the village, praying over the dead body of an old friar, the pamphlet was soon handed to them, who sent a messenger to purchase several of them. I made them a present of each of them one, and was desired to wait on them in the Nunnery, with the holy sisters. They appeared to have no disposition unfriendly toward the Colonies, but chose rather to stand neuter.

Two men from the *New Hampshire Grants* accompanied me over the Lakes. The one was an old *Indian* hunter, acquainted with the *St. Francis' Indians* and their language; the other was a captive many years among the *Caghnawaga Indians*, which is the principal of all the *Canadian Six Nations*, and western tribes of Indians, whom I sent to enquire and search out any intrigues carrying on among them. These men have this minute returned, and report that they were very kindly received by the *Caghnawaga Indians*, with whom they tarried several days. The *Indians* say they have been repeatedly applied to, and requested to join with the King's Troops to fight *Boston*, but have peremptorily refused, and still intend to refuse. They are a very simple, politick people, and say that if they are obliged, for their own safety, to take up arms on either side, that they shall take part on the side of their brethren, the *English* in *New England*,—all the chiefs of the *Caghnawaga* tribe being of *English* extraction, captivated in their infancy. They have wrote a friendly letter to Colonel *Israel Putnam*, of *Pomfret*, in *Connecticut*, in consequence of a letter which Colonel *Putnam* sent them, in which letter they give their brother *Putnam* assurance of their peaceable disposition. Several *French* gentlemen of *Montreal* have paid the Governour a visit, and offered him their services, as officers, to raise a *Canadian Army*, and join the King's Troops. The Governour told them he could get officers in plenty, but the difficulty consisted in raising soldiers.

There is no prospect of Canada sending delegates to the Continental Congress. The difficulty consists in this: Should the *English* join in the Non-Importation Agreement, the *French* would immediately monopolize the *Indian* trade. The *French* in *Canada* are a set of people who know no other way of procuring wealth and honour, but by becoming Court syeophants; and, as the introduction of the *French* laws will make room for the *French* gentry, they are very thick about the Governor. You may depend that, should any movement be made among the *French* to join against the Colonies, your friends here will give the shortest notice possible; and the *Indians*, on their part, have engaged to do the same, so that you have no occasion to expect to be surprised without notice, should the worst event take place.

I have established a channel of correspondance through the *New Hampshire Grants*, which may be depended on. Mr. *Walker's* letter comes by the hand of Mr. *Jeffers*, once of *Boston*, now on his way thither, which, together with this, is a full account of affairs here. I shall tarry here some time, but shall not go to *Quebeck*, as there are a number of their Committee here.

One thing I must mention, to be kept a profound secret. The Fort at *Ticon-*

deroga must be seized as soon as possible, should hostilities be committed by the King's Troops. The people on *New Hampshire Grants* have engaged to do this business, and, in my opinion, they are the most proper persons for this job. This will effectually curb this Province, and all the troops that may be sent here.

As the messenger to carry this letter has been waiting some time, with impatience, I must conclude, by subscribing myself, gentlemen, your most obedient, humble servant,

JOHN BROWN.

To Mr. SAMUEL ADAMS, } Committee of Correspondance in Boston.
Dr. J. WARREN,

I am this minute informed that *Mr. Carleton* has ordered that no wheat go out of the river, until further orders; the design is obvious.

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A Vindication of the Opposition of the Inhabitants of Vermont to the Government of New York, and of their Right to form into an Independant State. Humbly submitted to the Consideration of the impartial World. By ETHAN ALLEN. Printed by Alden Spooner, 1779: Printer to the State of Vermont.

The following extract from this pamphlet precedes the portion of it which is cited in the text, commencing on the ninth page:

"The approaching rupture between *Great Britain* and the *Colonies* was matter of serious reflection to the inhabitants of this frontier; their controversy with New York having (at great expense) been previously submitted to the King and Privy Council, by the negotiation of special agents, at two different times, and was in a high probability of being determined in their favor, which influenced some of the inhabitants to take a part with *Great Britain*; the more so, as this part of the country was a frontier, and, of consequence, would be greatly under the enemy's power, who was then in possession of *Ticonderoga*, *Crown Point* and *St. Johns*, and commanded the Lake with a vessel of force, besides. At the same time, their settlements were extended on the east side of the Lake, almost to the Province of *Quebec*. This was their situation when on the very eve of a war with *Great Britain*.

The Battle of *Lexington* almost distracted them, for interest inclined them to favor the royal side of the dispute; but the stronger impulses of affection to their country excited them to resent its wrongs, and obtain satisfaction for the blood of their massacred countrymen. Their condition was truly perplexed and critical; their hopes were placed on the royal authority for their deliverance from the encroachments and oppressions of the Government of *New York*; but the ties of consanguinity, personal acquaintance and friendship, similarity of religion and manners to the *New England* Governments, from whom these inhabitants had most generally emigrated, weighed very heavy in their deliberations; besides, the cause of the country was generally believed to be just, and that resistance to *Great Britain* had become the indispensible duty of a free people. But there was one very knotty query, which exercised the minds of their best politicians, viz.: Pro-

vided they should take an active part with their country; and, furthermore, provided an accommodation should take place, and the Colonies return to their former allegiance, what would then become of them, or their remonstrances against the Government of *New York*, lodged at the Court of *Great Britain*? But this danger seems to have been luckily passed over.

Soon after the news of the *Lexington* Battle, the principal officers of the Green Mountain Boys, and other principal inhabitants, were convened at *Bennington*, and attempted to explore futurity, but it was found to be unfathomable; and the scenes which have since taken place, then appeared to be precarious and uncertain. However, it was imagined that, provided those inhabitants were loyal to their country, and the event of the war should prove favorable to *America*, and their struggles for liberty should bring about a revolution, instead of a rebellion; that, in this case, they should rid themselves of the grievous usurpation of the Government of *New York*, and be entitled and readily admitted to any privileges which could reasonably be expected on revolution principles, which undoubtedly will be the consequence (for it can hardly be doubted, that, provided the said inhabitants had exercised the same degree of loyalty to the King that they have to the country, they might have shared as great privileges from the royal favor as they now request of Congress, viz.: Provided the event of the war had proved as successful to *Britain* as it has to *America*.) And as every of the Colonies and plantations were then taking arms for the mutual security of their liberty, and it was equally just and incumbent on the inhabitants of the *New Hampshire* Grants to do the same; it was therefore resolved to take an active part with the country, and thereby annihilate the old quarrel with the Government of *New York*, by swallowing it up in the general conflict for liberty; at that time not apprehending the least danger (on the proviso of a revolution's taking place) that Congress would resolve them to belong to the Government of *New York*, or in any manner countenance their being deprived of their liberty, by subjecting them under the power of a government which they detest more than that of the British, which they have manfully assisted the United States to suppress."

NUMBER VI. Page 29.

COL. SAMUEL H. PARSONS TO JOSEPH TRUMBULL.

NEW LONDON, 2d June, 1775.

Dear Sir:—A small sketch of my history since I saw you at Oxford may give you some satisfaction, and open a little the state of mind some gentlemen have been in the whole of last moon.

When I left you, I proceeded to Hartford, where I arrived Thursday forenoon [April 27]. You remember I remarked to you, I was concerned for the defenseless state (as I supposed) of our camp, and the want of heavy cannon, to effect anything against the town. On my way to Hartford, I fell in with Capt. Arnold, who gave me an account of the state of Ticonderoga, and that a great number of brass cannon were there. On my arrival at Hartford, Col. Sam. Wylls, Mr. Deane and myself first undertook and projected taking that fort, etc.; and, with the assist-

ance of three other persons, procured money, men, etc., and sent out on this expedition, without any consultation with Assembly, or others. This I mention only for this reason, that 'tis matter of diversion to me to see the various competitors for the honor of concerting and carrying this matter into execution, contending so strenuously about a matter, in the execution of which all concerned justly deserve applause. But some cannot bear an equal, and none a superior, and all make representations at the expense of truth, to monopolize what ought to be divided; but more of this another time. I waited at Hartford till Saturday, got my beating orders, and went home. The next week my company was filled, and I had orders to march to Boston, and the week following began our march, when, to my surprise, the Sunday following, heard the Commissary had stopped the companies at Norwich. The same day I sent to Hartford a memorandum respecting the state of the case. My messenger returned Thursday; nothing done. The same day I went up myself, and could get no answer till Saturday noon, when my orders to march were countermanded, and my regiment ordered back to New London till further orders, where I now am, as much chagrined as any person need be; but this is a pleasure to my good friends, who feel a hearty satisfaction in mortifying me. The renowned Col. W., *the ambassador*, is the first on the list of my friends. He, on Saturday, mov'd that the further consideration of the destination of the troops might be further laid over (to bed, I suppose) for consideration. This *great man* is the same unchanged person who, I believe, would, even now, gladly baffle all overtures for our salvation.

I am now destined to this state of imprisonment, from whence I shall never be delivered without your help, and the assistance of Generals Spencer and Putnam. If proper representations of the necessity of more men at Boston, was made to the Governor by my friends in camp, I am certain he will order my regiment to Boston, immediately after the Assembly rises, which, I suppose, was last night, or will be this day. I beg you will use your interest to deliver me from this evil state as soon as possible.

What's become of our friend, Jemmy Lovell? What is the condition of the inhabitants of Boston? Are they suffered to come out? The circumstances of our army, and the intended operations of our forces? are questions I want to be answered. If I am to remain on the *clam banks*, I hope you will take the first opportunity to write me, and give as particular information as possible.

I am, Sir,

Your Friend,

S. PARSONS

To CAPT. JOSEPH TRUMBULL, }
In Cambridge. }

NUMBER VII. Page 30.

The claim that Samuel Adams and John Hancock were at Hartford, and to give to the arrangement by Colonel Parsons and his associates, to send the Hampshire Grants to the New Hampshire Grants, there to raise men for the expedition, is derogatory, rests wholly upon an extract from a letter published in the Boston Gazette, p. 507, as an "Extract from a letter from a gentleman in Fitchburg, dated the 10th of

Cambridge, May 4, 1775," in which it is said that "the plan was concerted at Hartford last Saturday, by the Governor and Council; Colonel Hancock, and Mr. Adams and others from our Province being present." Mr. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, in his concise and excellent paper on the "Origin of the Expedition against Ticonderoga," has clearly shown the error of this statement, and that Mr. Bancroft was misled by it. Saturday was the *twenty-ninth* of April, and on that day, according to Mr. Wells, the biographer of Mr. Adams, the latter, in company with Mr. Hancock, arrived at Hartford, having been at Worcester, on the 27th, as we have already seen. But the expedition originated at Hartford on the 27th. This is shown by the letter from Parsons to Trumbull of June 2, *and the receipts for the money drawn from the treasury of Connecticut are dated on the 28th, before the arrival of Messrs. Hancock and Adams.* Mott says, in his journal, that he arrived at Hartford on the 28th, and that Deane and Parsons wished he "had arrived one day sooner; that they had been on such a plan, and had sent off Messrs. Noah Phelps and Bernard Romans, who they had supplied with £300 cash from the Treasury," etc.; and the journal continues, "Saturday, the 29th April, in the afternoon, we set out on said expedition." It is, therefore, certain that the writer of the Pittsfield letter was in error, and that Adams and Hancock could have had nothing to do with the origin of the expedition, as they did not reach Hartford until two days after the plan was laid, and one day after Phelps and Romans had departed.

This is not the only error which has arisen from these Pittsfield letters, and their incomplete publication by Mr. Force. They were, in fact, written by the *Rev. Thomas Allen*, to General Seth Pomroy, who was then with the army at Cambridge. It is not difficult, now that the authorship of these letters is known, to understand how Mr. Allen fell into his mistake, for such it was, beyond question. Noah Phelps and Romans, who left Hartford with the money, went to Bennington direct. If they passed through Pittsfield, they do not appear to have made any stay there, or to have communicated their mission to any one previous to their arrival on the Grants. Mott and his party left Hartford on Saturday, in the afternoon, and did not reach Pittsfield until the evening of Monday, May 1st. They went direct to Colonel Easton's, with whom they passed the night. Mr. Allen was chairman of the Pittsfield Committee of Safety, and would probably have been consulted by Mott and his party. They left Hartford after Adams and Hancock arrived there, and might naturally have spoken of their arrival in connection with their own expedition. The fact that Phelps and Romans had preceded them by a day, was probably not explained, and thus Mr. Allen was left to infer that the expedition was organized on Saturday, instead of on Thursday. Mott states that he overtook those who had gone forward, after he reached Bennington, except Noah Phelps and a Mr. Hitchcock, who were gone to reconnoiter the fort.

The authorship of the two Pittsfield letters, which are published in a mutilated form in the "Archives," was first determined by *Dr. Field*, in his History of Pittsfield, published in 1844. Both these letters are given in the Appendix to that History. See also No. XIX. of this Appendix.

The journal of Captain Mott contains so clear an account of his part in the expedition against Ticonderoga, that I think it should be given here, notwithstanding its length. I follow the copy in the first volume of the Connecticut Historical Society's Collections.

"PRESTON, Friday, 28th April, 1775.—Set out for Hartford, where I arrived the same day. Saw Christopher Leflingwell, Esq., who enquired of me about the situation of the people of Boston. When I had given him an account, he asked me how they could be relieved, and where I thought we could get artillery and stores. I told him I knew not, except we went and took possession of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, which I thought might be done by surprise, with a small number of men. Mr. Leflingwell left me, and in a short time came to me again, and brought with him Samuel H. Parsons and Silas Deane, Esqs., when he asked me if I would undertake in such an expedition as we had talked of before. I told him I would. They told me they wished I had been there one day sooner; that they had been on such a plan, and that they had sent off Messrs. Noah Phelps and Bernard Romans, who they had supplied with £300, in cash, from the Treasury, and ordered them to draw for more if they should need; that said Phelps and Romans were gone by the way of Salisbury, where they would make a stop; that they expected a small number of men would join them, and if I would go after them, they would give me an order or letter to them, to join with them, and to have my voice with them in conducting the affair and laying out the money; and also, that I might take five or six men with me. On which, I took with me Mr. Jeremiah Halsey, Mr. Epaphras Bull, Mr. Wm. Nichols, Mr. Elijah Babcock, and John Bigelow joined me; and Saturday, the 29th April, in the afternoon, we set out on said expedition. That night arrived at Smith's, in New Hartford; stayed that night. The next day, being Sunday, the 30th April, on our way to Salisbury, Mr. Babcock tired his horse; we got another horse of Esq. Humphrey, in Norfolk, and that day arrived at Salisbury,—tarried all night; and the next day, having augmented our company to the number of sixteen in the whole, we concluded it was not best to add any more, as we meant to keep our business a secret, and ride through the country unarmed till we came to the new settlements on the Grants. We arrived at Mr. Dewey's, in Sheffield, and there we sent off Mr. Jer. Halsey and Capt. John Stephens, to go to Albany, in order to discover the temper of the people in that place, and to return and inform us as soon as possible.

That night we arrived at Col. Easton's, in Pittsfield, where we fell in company with John Brown, Esq., who had been at Canada and Ticonderoga, about a month before, on which we concluded to make known our business to Col. Easton and said Brown, and to take their advice on the same. I was advised by Messrs. Deane, Leflingwell and Parsons, at Hartford, not to raise our men till we came to the N. Hampshire Grants, lest we should be discovered by having too long a march through the country; but when we advised with said Easton and Brown, they advised us that, as there was a great scarcity of provisions in the Grants, and as the people were generally poor, it would be difficult to get a sufficient number of men there; therefore, we had better raise a number of men sooner. Said Easton

and Brown concluded to go with us, and Easton said he would assist me in raising some men in his regiment. We then concluded for me to go with Col. Easton to Jericho and Williamstown, to raise men, and the rest of us to go forward to Bennington, and see if they could purchase provisions there. We raised 24 men in Jericho, and 15 in Williamstown, and got them equipped, ready to march. Then Col. Easton and I set out for Bennington. That evening, we met with an express from our people, informing us that they had seen a man directly from Ticonderoga, and that he informed them that they were reinforced at Ticonderoga, and were repairing the garrison, and were every way on their guard; therefore, it was best for us to dismiss the men we had raised, and proceed no further, as we should not succeed. I asked who the man was, where he belonged, and where he was going, but could get no account; on which I ordered that the men should not be dismissed, but that we would proceed.

The next day I arrived at Bennington; there, overtook our people, —all but Noah Phelps and Mr. Heacock, who were gone forward to reconnoiter the fort, and Mr. Halsey and Mr. Stephens had not got back from Albany. I inquired why they sent back to me to dismiss the expedition, when neither our men from Albany, nor the reconnoitering party had returned? They said that they did not think that we should succeed. I told them that fellow they saw knew nothing about the garrison; that I had seen him since, and had examined him strictly, and that he was a lying fellow, and had not been at the fort. I told them, with the two hundred men that we proposed to raise, I was not afraid to go round the fort in open light; if it was reinforced with five hundred men, they would not follow us out into the woods; that the accounts we had would not do to go back with, and tell in Hartford. While on this discourse, Mr. Halsey and Stephens came back from Albany, and both agreed with me, that it was best to go forward; after which, Mr. Halsey and Mr. Bull both declared that they would go back for no story, 'till they had seen the fort for themselves. On which it was concluded that we would proceed; and, as provisions were very scarce on the Grants, we sent Capt. Stephens and Mr. Hewitt to Albany, New City, to purchase provisions, and send to us as soon as they could; and Mr. Romans left us, and joined no more. We were all glad, as he had been a trouble to us all the time he was with us.

Then we proceeded to raise men as fast as possible, and sent forward men on whom we could depend, to waylay the roads that lead from those places we were raising men in, to Fort Edward, Lake George, Skenesborough, Ticonderoga or Crown Point, with orders to take up all those who were passing from either of these garrisons, and send to us to be examined; and that all who were passing towards these garrisons, from us, should be stopped, so that no intelligence should go from us to the garrisons; and, on Sunday night, the seventh of May, we all arrived at Cassel Town (Castleton), the place where we had appointed for the men all to meet; and on Monday, the 8th of May, the Committee all got together, to conclude in what method we would proceed, in order to accomplish our design, of which Committee I was chairman.

And, after debating on the different methods to proceed, and in what manner to retreat, in case of a repulse, we resolved and voted, that we would proceed in the following manner, viz.: That a party of thirty men, under the command of

Capt. Herrick, should, the next day, in the afternoon, take into custody Major Skene and his party, and boats; and that the rest of the men, which consisted of about 140, should go through Shoreham to the lake, opposite to Ticonderoga; and that a part of the men that went to Skenesborough should, in the night following, go down the lake, by Ticonderoga, in the boats, to Shoreham, in order to carry men across the lake to Ticonderoga. We also sent Capt. Douglass to go to Crown Point, and see if he could not agree with his brother-in-law, who lived there, to hire the king's boats, on some stratagem, and send up the lake from there, to assist in carrying over our men. It was further agreed that Col. Ethan Allen should have the command of the party that should go against Ticonderoga, agreeable to my promise made to the men when I engaged them to go, that they should be commanded by their own officers.

In the evening, after the party that was to go to Skenesborough was drafted out, and Col. Allen was gone to Mr. Wessell's, in Shoreham, to meet some men who were to come in there, having received his orders, at what time he must be ready, and must take possession of the garrison of Ticonderoga,—the whole plan being settled by a vote of the Committee.

In the evening, Col. Arnold came to us, with his orders, and demanded the command of our people, as he said we had no proper orders. We told him we could not surrender the command to him, as our people were raised on condition that they should be commanded by their own officers. He persisted in his demand, and the next morning he proceeded forward to overtake Col. Allen. I was then with the party that was going to Skenesborough, a mile and a half distance from the other party. When Col. Arnold went after Col. Allen, the whole party followed him, for fear he should prevail on Col. Allen to resign the command, and left all the provisions, so that I, with Capt. Phelps and Babcock, was obliged to leave the party that I was with, and go with the pack-horses with the provisions, and could not overtake them till the first division had crossed the lake. We followed them, as soon as the boats got back, and when we got over, they were in possession of the fort. We entered the fort immediately, and soon got the Regular troops under guard, and their arms all in our possession. This was done on Wednesday, the 10th of May. After which, Col. Arnold challenged the command again, and insisted that he had a right to have it; on which, our soldiers again paraded, and declared that they would go right home, for they would not be commanded by Arnold. We told them they should not, and at length pacified them; and then reasoned with Arnold, and told him, *as he had not raised any men, he could not expect to have the command of ours.* He still insisted that, as we had no legal orders to show, he had a right to take the command. On which I wrote Col. Allen his orders, as followeth, viz.:

To Col. Ethan Allen:—

SIR,—Whereas, agreeable to the Power and Authority to us given by the COLONY OF CONNECTICUT, we have appointed you to take the command of a party of men, and reduce and take possession of the garrison of Ticonderoga and its dependencies. And, as you are now in possession of the same, you are hereby

directed to keep the command of said garrison, for the use of the American Colonies, till you have further orders from the Colony of Connecticut, or from the Continental Congress.

Signed per order of the Committee,

EDWARD MOTT, *Chairman of Committee.*"

Ticonderoga, May 10th, 1775.

NUMBER IX. Page 33.

The Rev. *Thomas Allen* was one of the most active patriots in Western Massachusetts. He was a native of Northampton, and the first minister settled in Pittsfield. On the 30th of June, 1774, he was made Chairman of a Standing Committee of Safety and Correspondence for the town, in which position his correspondence exhibits great vigilance and zeal in the Revolutionary cause. He was active in promoting the expedition against Ticonderoga, and the next year he acted as chaplain in the army, at White Plains, under Washington, and afterwards officiated in the same capacity at Ticonderoga. In August, 1777, he went with a volunteer company of militia from Pittsfield to Bennington, and took an active part in the battle that ensued. "Reporting himself to General Stark, he was forthwith appointed chaplain, and there are those who yet express their belief in the efficacy of a prayer before the army, on the morning of the action, which ascended from the fervent lips of Mr. Allen. Among the reinforcements from Berkshire County, says Edward Everett, in his *Life of Stark*, came a clergyman, with a portion of his flock, resolved to make bare the arm of flesh against the enemies of his country. Before daylight, on the morning of the 16th, he addressed the Commander as follows: 'We, the people of Berkshire, have frequently been called upon to fight, but have never been led against the enemy. We have now resolved, if you will not let us fight, never to turn out again.' General Stark asked him 'if he wished to march then, when it was dark and raining?' 'No,' was the answer. 'Then,' continued Stark, 'if the Lord should once more give us sunshine, and I do not give you fighting enough, I will never ask you to come again!' The weather cleared up in the course of the day, and the men of Berkshire followed their spiritual guide into action.

Before the attack was commenced, being posted opposite to that wing of the enemy which was principally composed of refugees, who had joined the invaders, Mr. Allen advanced in front of our militia, and in a voice distinctly heard by them, exhorted the enemy to lay down their arms, assuring them of good quarters, and warning them of the consequences of refusal. Having performed what he considered a religious duty, and being fired upon, he resumed his place in the ranks, and, when the signal was given, was among the foremost in attacking the enemy.

There is a tradition that Mr. Allen was recognized by some of these refugees; for there were a very few men of this description from Pittsfield and other parts of Berkshire, and that they said: "There is Parson Allen; let us pop him!" There is also a tradition, that when he was fired upon, and the bullets of the enemy were whistling about him, he jumped down from the rock or stump on

which he had stood, and cried out: "Now, boys, let us give it to them!" and immediately said to his brother Joseph, by his side: "You load, and I will fire!" Being asked whether he killed a man, he replied: "He did not know; but that observing a flash often repeated in a bush near by, which seemed to be succeeded each time by a fall of some of our men, he levelled his musket, and firing in that direction, *he put out that flash!*"

Dr. Field, from whose sketch of Pittsfield the foregoing is extracted, says that Mr. Allen continued in the ministry until his death, which took place on the 11th of February, 1810, at the age of sixty-seven years.

He had twelve children, nine sons and three daughters. One of his sons, Rev. William Allen, D. D., succeeded his father in the ministry at Pittsfield, and was the author of Allen's Biographical Dictionary. Another son, Solomon Mctealf Allen, a graduate of Middlebury in 1813, studied Theology, but was appointed Professor of the Ancient Languages, at Middlebury, in 1816, and lost his life by an accident in the following year.

NUMBER X. Page 37.

Major Gershom Beach, of Rutland, Vermont, was one of the most earnest and energetic of the Green Mountain Boys. After the arrival of the expedition at Shoreham, Captain Noah Phelps, of Simsbury, Conn., who had been sent forward to reconnoitre the fort, joined the party, and reported that the fort was in a comparatively defenseless condition,—the men not being on their guard, and their ammunition damaged. Allen immediately dispatched Major Beach to collect men, and direct them to join the expedition at Hand's Point. Goodhue, in his "History of Shoreham," p. 13, says: "Beach went on foot to Rutland, Pittsford, Brandon, Middlebury, Whiting and Shoreham, making a circuit of sixty miles in twenty-four hours."

Major Beach was an intimate friend of Major Skene, and was at Skenesborough on Saturday before Skene was captured. The Major consulted with Beach about rebuilding the forts at Ticonderoga, Crown Point, etc., and told him his father was coming out with a commission as Governor of the country, and authority to repair all the defenses. Beach replied that he thought he would have difficulty in raising men, as the men would *have business at Boston!* Skene was soon relieved of all difficulty on this score, for on the following Tuesday he was captured and sent to Connecticut.

NUMBER XI. Page 42.

The following extract is taken from Zadock Thompson's "Gazetteer of Vermont," Part Second, p. 33:

"While they were collecting at Castleton, Colonel Arnold arrived there, attended only by a servant. This officer had been chosen captain by an independent company at New Haven, in Connecticut, and, as soon as he heard of the battle at Lexington, he marched his company to Cambridge, where the Americans

were assembling to invest Boston. There, he received a colonel's commission from the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, with orders to raise four hundred men for the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, which he represented to be in a ruinous condition, and feebly garrisoned. His commission being examined, Arnold was permitted to join the party; but it was ordered by a council that Allen should also have the commission of Colonel, and should be first in command.

"To procure intelligence, Captain Noah Phelps, one of the gentlemen from Connecticut, went into the fort at Ticonderoga, in the habit of one of the settlers, where he enquired for a barber, under the pretence of wanting to be shaved. By affecting an awkward appearance, and asking many simple questions, he passed unsuspected, and had a favorable opportunity of observing the condition of the works. Having obtained the necessary information, he returned to the party, and the same night they began their march for the fort. And these affairs had been conducted with so much expedition, that Allen reached Orwell, opposite to Ticonderoga, with his men, in the evening of the 9th of May, while the garrison were without any knowledge of the proceedings, and without any apprehension of a hostile visit.

"The whole force collected on this occasion amounted to 270 men, of whom 230 were Green Mountain Boys. It was with difficulty that boats could be obtained to carry over the troops. A Mr. Douglass was sent to Bridport to procure aid in men, and a scow belonging to Mr. Smith. Douglass stopped by the way to enlist a Mr. Chapman in the enterprise, when James Wilcox and Joseph Tyler, two young men who were a-bed in the chamber, hearing the story, conceived the design of decoying on shore a large oar-boat belonging to Major Skene, and which then lay off against Willow Point. They dressed, seized their guns and jug of rum, of which they knew the black commander to be extremely fond,—gathered four men as they went, and arriving all armed, they hailed the boat, and offered to help row it to Shoreham, if he would carry them immediately, to join a hunting party that would be waiting for them. The stratagem succeeded, and poor Jack and his two men suspected nothing, till they arrived at Allen's headquarters, and were made prisoners of war.

Douglass arrived with the scow about the same time, and some other boats having been collected, Allen embarked with 83 men, and landed near the fort."

The *Willow Point*, near which Major Skene's boat lay, must not be confounded with another point of the same name, about a half mile north of the fort, upon which Allen and his men made their landing. The first Willow Point is on the eastern, or Vermont shore, nearly opposite Crown Point, and in the northwesterly corner of the town of Bridport. The other is on the west, or New York side, a little south of Hand's Cove, where the expedition embarked.—See *Goodhue's Hist. Shoreham*, p. 16.

NUMBER XII, Page 44.

There has been much confusion in relation to the true date of the capture of Crown Point. Arnold, writing to the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, on the 11th, says:

"The party I advised were gone to Crown Point, are returned, having met with head winds, and that expedition, and taking the sloop, is *entirely laid aside*." Arnold must have known this statement to be false when he penned it. Ira Allen, who was in the expedition against Ticonderoga, in his "History of Vermont," p. 59, says, after describing the capture of Ticonderoga, "a party was sent by water, as soon as possible, to Crown Point, under the command of Captain Warner. Previous to this, Colonel Allen had sent orders to Captain Baker, of Onion River, forty miles north of Crown Point, to come with his company and assist; and, though belated, yet he met and took two small boats on their way to give the alarm to Fort St. John. Captain Warner and Baker appeared before Crown Point nearly at the same time; the garrison, having only few men, surrendered without opposition." It has been commonly supposed that Warner left on the morning of the 10th, soon after the capture of Ticonderoga, and that Crown Point was taken on the same day. The following letter, however, now in the possession of Hon. L. Hebard, of Lebanon, Conn., just published in "The Dartmouth Magazine," for May, 1872, fixes the date of the capture of Crown Point beyond question:

"HEAD QUARTERS, CROWN POINT, 12th May, 1775.

GENT.—Yesterday, we took possession of this garrison in the name of the country,—we found great quantities of ordnance, stores, &c. Very little provision. We have had parties out several days, watching every passage to Canady, by land and water. Have taken two mails; have not examined them very particularly; find nothing material in English,—some letters in French and High Dutch which we could not read. The bearer, Mr. Levi Allen, has this moment returned from a party that was watching the lake, to stop any news going to Canady, as we want to have sloop return from St. Johns, and make a prize of her. She will be well loaded. Allen informs us a bark canoe has been seen standing for Canady, three miles north of his station on the lake, by which means, we suppose, Gov. Carlton will hear what we have done, before this comes to hand. He is a man-of-war; you can guess what measures he will take. We determine to fight them three to one, but he can bring ten to one, and more. We should be glad of assistance of men, provisions and powder, and beg your advice whether we shall abandon this place and retire to Ticonderoga, or proceed to St. Johns, &c., &c. The latter we should be fondest of. We are, Gen'l., yours to command,

SETH WARNER,
PELEG SUNDERLAND,

To His Hon. the Governor and Council }
and Gen. Assembly Connecticut." }

NUMBER XIII. Page 44.

ETHAN ALLEN TO THE ALBANY COMMITTEE.

TICONDEROGA, May 11th, 1775.

GENTLEMEN:—I have the inexpressible satisfaction to acquaint you, that, at daybreak of the tenth instant, pursuant to my directions from sundry leading

gentlemen of *Massachusetts Bay* and *Connecticut*, I took the fortress of *Ticonderoga*, with about one hundred and thirty *Green Mountain Boys*. Colonel *Easton*, with about forty-seven valiant soldiers, distinguished themselves in the action. Colonel *Arnold* entered the fortress with me, side by side. The guard was so surprised, that contrary to expectation, they did not fire on us, but retreated with precipitancy. We immediately entered the fortress, and took the garrison prisoners, without bloodshed or any opposition. They consisted of one captain and a lieutenant, and forty-two men.

Little more need be said. You know *Gouverneur Carlton*, of *Canada*, will exert himself to retake it; and, as your county is nearer than any other part of the Colonies, and as your inhabitants have thoroughly manifested their zeal in the cause of the country, I expect immediate assistance from you, both in men and provisions. You cannot exert yourself too much in so glorious a cause. The number of men need be more at first, till the other Colonies can have time to muster. I am apprehensive of a sudden and quick attack. Pray be quick to our relief, and send us five hundred men immediately; fail not.

From your friend and humble servant,

ETHAN ALLEN, *Commander of Ticonderoga*.

ABRAHAM YATES, Chairman of the Committee, *Albany*.

NUMBER XIV. Page 48.

ETHAN ALLEN TO THE MASSACHUSETTS CONGRESS.

TICONDEROGA, May 11, 1775.

GENTLEMEN:—

I have to inform you, with pleasure unfelt before, that on the break of day of tenth of *May*, 1775, by the order of the General Assembly of the Colony of *Connecticut*, I took the Fortress of *Ticonderoga* by storm. The soldiery was composed of about one hundred *Green Mountain Boys*, and near fifty veteran soldiers from the Province of *Massachusetts Bay*. The latter was under the command of Colonel *James Easton*, who behaved with great zeal and fortitude,—not only in council, but in the assault. The soldiery behaved with such resistless fury, that they so terrified the King's troops, that they durst not fire on their assailants, and our soldiery was agreeably disappointed. The soldiery behaved with uncommon rancour when they leaped into the Fort; and, it must be confessed, that the Colonel has greatly contributed to the taking of that fortress, as well as *John Brown*, Esq., attorney at law, who was also an able counsellor, and was personally in the attack. I expect the Colonies will maintain this fort. As to the cannon and warlike stores, I hope they may serve the cause of liberty, instead of tyranny, and I humbly implore your assistance in immediately assisting the Government of *Connecticut* in establishing a garrison in the reduced premises. Colonel *Easton* will inform you at large. From, gentlemen, your most obedient, humble servant,

ETHAN ALLEN.

To the Honorable Congress of the Province }
of *Massachusetts Bay*, or Council of War. }

COLONEL ETHAN ALLEN TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

TICONDEROGA, 12th May, 1775.

HON'BLE SIR:—I make you a present of a Major, a Captain and two Lieutenants in the regular Establishment of George the Third. I hope they may serve as ransoms for some of our friends at Boston, and particularly for Capt. Brown, of Rhode Island. A party of men, under the command of Capt. Herriek, has taken possession of Skenesborough, imprisoned Major Skene, and seized a schooner of his. I expect, in ten days' time, to have it rigged, manned and armed with six or eight pieces of cannon, which, with the boats in our possession, I purpose to make an attack on the armed sloop of George the Third, which is now cruising on Lake Champlain, and is about twice as big as the schooner. I hope in a short time to be authorized to acquaint your Honour, that Lake Champlain, and the fortifications thereon, are subject to the Colonies.

The enterprise has been approbated by the officers and soldiery of the Green Mountain Boys, nor do I hesitate as to the success. I expect lives must be lost in the attack, as the commander of George's sloop is a man of courage, etc.

Messrs. Hickok, Halsey and Nichols have the charge of conducting the officers to Hartford. These gentlemen have been very assiduous and active in the late expedition.

I depend upon your Honour's aid and assistance in a situation so contiguous to Canada.

I subscribe myself, your Honour's ever faithful,

Most obedient and humble Servant,

ETHAN ALLEN, *At present Commander of Ticonderoga.*

To the Hon'ble JONATHAN TRUMBULL, Esq.,

Capt. General and Governour of the Colony of Connecticut.

COMMISSARY ELISHA PHELPS TO GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF CONNECTICUT.

SKENESBOROUGH, May 16th, 1775.

To the Honorable General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut, in New England, America, now sitting at Hartford:

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE:—I now would endeavor to state before you the situation of affairs of these northern frontiers, and the army and fort, and our proceedings from the beginning. When we left Hartford, our orders was to repair to the Grants of New Hampshire, and raise an army of men, as we thought proper, to go and take the Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and Major Skene, etc., and to destroy the fort, or keep it, and send an express to Albany, and see if they would keep it; or send to the Colony of Connecticut. Upon which orders we went to Pittsfield, and Col. Easton and Capt. Douglass [Dickenson?] joined us with about sixty men; and we pursued to Bennington, and met Col. Allen, who was much pleased with the intended expedition, and we agreed he should get one hundred men. We sent forward to Crown Point and Ticonderoga, Capt. Noah Phelps and Mr. Hickok, to reconnoitre and see what discovery they could make

who met us at Castleton—who informed us that the regulars was not any ways apprised of our coming. To which, the army pursued on, and on the 10th day of May instant, took Fort Ticonderoga, and also Major Skene, and have sent them, with proper guards, to Hartford. There is, at the fort, about 200 men,—in a fort of broken walls and gates, and but few cannon in order, and very much out of repair,—and in a great quarrel with Col. Arnold, who shall command the fort, even that some of the soldiers threaten the life of Col. Arnold. Major Skene's estate we have put into the care of Capt. Noah Lee, a man of good character, and capable of taking care of the business well. The people on the Grants are in much distress for want of provisions. The iron work must be carried on for the benefit of the people here; but it would not do, by no means, to have Mr. Brook stay here, as he was looked upon to be a bigger enemy to his country than Major Skene, and 'tis an easy matter to send an Indian to Canada, and inform them all our schemes and plans. One enemy in the city is worse than ten outside.

News I have, by a credible man as any in these parts (by name, Gershom Beach, of Rutland), and who has been one of Major Skene's best friends, but loves himself and country better,—who told me he was at the Major's on Saturday, before the Major was taken (who was taken Tuesday); that his father had sent him a letter, and shewed it to him, which informed the young Major that he had married to a lady of fortune, of forty-three thousand pound sterling, and that he had a commission in chief over Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point and Fort George; also, the Major asked Mr. Beach about rebuilding the forts. Mr. Beach told him he could not get men enough, as they would be at Boston. The Major replied, his father had a thousand men coming with him, and was to have been here by the first day of May instant. Now, gentlemen, I must beg liberty to offer my humble opinion, which is, that not less than three thousand men be sent here immediately, and to push on to St. Johns and Canada, and secure them forts, and, in doing that, secure the Canadians and Indians on our side, and rescue the frontier from the rage of the savages; and for another small army to go to Detroit, etc. Begging pardon for directing any in these affairs.

Now, gentlemen, as we have done the business we was sent to do, must pray that you would send me special orders, whether I should provide any longer for the army, on the Colony of Connecticut's cost, or not. As I was appointed by the Committee, of which I had the honor to be one, to be commissary of the army, I am determined to go to New City and Albany, and secure some provision, and wait for further orders from the Assembly.

I dined with three Indians this day, who belonged to Stockbridge, sent by Mr. Edwards, and a number of other gentlemen of that town, to Canada, to see if they can find out the temper of the Canada Indians. I also saw a young gentleman from Albany, that says they disapproved of our proceeding in taking the fort, in that we did not acquaint them of it before that it was done. Perhaps it would be well if some gentlemen should wait on the Congress at New York, so as to keep peace with them. N. B. We did inform the Gentlemen Committee of Albany of our proceedings, which you will see by a letter in the hands of Capt. Mott.

Gentlemen, I am, with esteem, your very humble Servant to command,

ELISHA PHELPS."

It would, probably, have saved the Colonies the disasters of the next autumn and winter, including the loss of General Montgomery and the greater part of his army, if the earnest counsels of this letter, and of Ethan Allen, in favor of an immediate invasion of Canada, had been followed. There seems little doubt that the people of Canada sympathized with the movements of the Colonies, and might easily have been induced to join with them in resistance to Great Britain. But the Continental Congress was not ripe for such a movement. It even apologized to the people of Canada for the capture of Ticonderoga, and, on the 29th of May, adopted an address to them, in which they say, "that the taking of the fort and military stores at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and the armed vessels on the lake, was dictated by the great law of self-preservation. They were intended to annoy us, and to cut off that friendly intercourse and communication which has hitherto subsisted between us. We hope it has given you no uneasiness," etc. And, on the first of June, the same Congress resolved, "That no expedition or incursion ought to be undertaken or made by any Colony, or body of Colonists, against or into Canada." An invasion at that time would probably have met with little active resistance.

The elder Skene, referred to in the foregoing letter, was captured on the arrival of the vessel from London in which he took passage, and sent to Philadelphia. On the 8th of June, the Continental Congress being informed "that the said Skene has lately been appointed Governor of the Forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point," and apprehending that he was "a dangerous partisan of Administration," appointed a committee to examine his papers; and, on the 5th of July, "it appearing that Gov. Philip Skene and Mr. Lundy have designs inimical to America," they were ordered to be sent to Connecticut, and placed in charge of Gov. Trumbull, as prisoners of war.—*See Journals of Cont. Congress, 1775, pp. 114, 142.*


NUMBER XVI. Page 51.

See American Bibliopolist, Vol. III., No. 36, p. 491. Dec. 1871.

This account, published in the *Worcester Spy*, May 17, 1755, endorsed by the editor as being "furnished by a correspondent whose veracity can be depended upon," is probably the *earliest published cotemporary account of the capture*. It is one week earlier than that of Colonel Easton in the same newspaper, and appears to be the source from which the London magazines of the time made up their items. The *Bibliopolist* is entitled to the credit of reproducing a piece of important evidence, which has not been cited since the controversy respecting Ticonderoga has arisen. The account is as follows:

"Col. James Easton and Col. Ethan Allen, having raised about 150 men for the purpose, agreeable to a plan formed in Connecticut, detached a party of about thirty men to go to Skenesborough, and take into custody Major Skene and his party of regular soldiers; and, with the remainder, having crossed the lake in boats in the night, and landed about half a mile from said fortress, immediately marched,

with great silence, to the gates of the fortress, and at break of day, May 10th, made the assault with great intrepidity,—our men darting like lightning upon the guards, gave them but just time to snap two guns at our men before they took their prisoners. This was immediately followed by the reduction of the fort and its dependencies. About 40 of the King's troops are taken prisoners (including one captain, one lieutenant, and inferior officers), with a number of women and children belonging to the soldiery at this garrison. Major Skene and the whole of his party are also taken. The prisoners are now under guard, on their way to Hartford, where it is probable they will arrive the latter end of this week. Those who took an account of the ordinance, warlike stores, etc., judged it amounted to no less than £300,000 in value. A party was immediately detached to take possession of Crown Point, where no great opposition was expected to be made. As the possession of this place affords us a key to all Canada, and may be of infinite importance to us in future, it must rejoice the hearts of all lovers of their country, that so noble an acquisition was made without the loss of one life, and is certainly an encomium upon the wisdom and valour of the New Englanders, however some stories would fain insinuate that they will not fight nor encounter danger.

 *What think ye of the Yankees now?*

We are told there are about 100 pieces of cannon, from 6 to 24 pounders at Ticonderoga."

NUMBER XVII. Page 52.

PETITION OF CAPTAIN DELAPLACE.

*To the Honorable, the General Assembly of the Governour and Company of the
ENGLISH Colony of CONNECTICUT, in NEW ENGLAND, in AMERICA, now
convened at HARTFORD:*

The memorial of *William Delaplace*, a Captain in His Majesty's Twenty-Sixth Regiment, and Commandant of the Fort and garrison of *Ticonderoga*, in behalf of himself and the officers and soldiers under his command, beg leave to represent our difficult situation to your Honours, and petition for redress.

Your memorialist would represent, that on the morning of the tenth of *May* instant, the garrison of the Fortress of *Ticonderoga*, in the Province of New York, was surprised by a party of armed men, under the command of one *Ethan Allen*, consisting of about one hundred and fifty, who had taken such measures effectually to surprisè the same, that very little resistance could be made, and to whom your memorialists were obliged to surrender as prisoners; and overpowered by a superior force, and disarmed, and by said *Allen* ordered immediately to be sent to Hartford, in the Colony of Connecticut, where your memorialists are detained as prisoners of war,—consisting of officers, forty-seven private soldiers of His Majesty's troops, besides women and children. That your memorialists, being ignorant of any crime by them committed, whereby they should be thus taken and held, also are ignorant by what authority said *Allen* thus took them, or that they are thus detained in a strange country, and at a distance from the post as-

signed them ; thus know not in what light they are considered by your Honours consequently know not what part to act ; would therefore ask your Honours' interposition and protection, and order that they be set at liberty, to return to the post from whence they were taken, or to join the regiment to which they belong ; or, if they are considered in the light of prisoners of war, your Honours would be pleased to signify the same to them, and by whom they are detained, and that your Honours would afford us your favor and protection during the time we shall tarry in this Colony ; and your memorialists shall ever pray.

WILLIAM DELAPLACE,

Captain, Commandant Ticonderoga Fort.

HARTFORD, May 24, 1775.

NUMBER XVIII. Page 52.

"AUTHENTICK ACCOUNT OF THE TAKING OF FORTRESSES AT TICONDEROGA AND CROWN POINT BY A PARTY OF THE CONNECTICUT FORCES.

"NEW YORK, May 18, 1775.

"Captain *Edward Mott* and Captain *Noah Phelps* set out from *Hartford* on *Saturday*, the twenty-ninth of *April*, in order to take possession of the Fortress of *Ticonderoga*, and the dependencies thereto belonging. They took with them from *Connecticut* sixteen men unarmed, and marched privately through the country till they came to *Pittsfield*, without discovering their design to any person, till they fell in company with Colonel *Ethan Allen*, Colonel *Easton*, and *John Brown*, Esq., who engaged to join themselves to said *Mott* and *Phelps*, and to raise men sufficient to take the place by surprise, if possible. Accordingly, the men were raised, and proceeded, as directed by said *Mott* and *Phelps*, Colonel *Ethan Allen* commanding the soldiery. On *Tuesday*, they surprised and took the fortress, making prisoners the Commandant and his party. On *Wednesday* morning they possessed themselves of *Crown Point*, taking possession of the ordnance stores, consisting of upwards of two hundred pieces of cannon, three mortars, sundry howitzers, and fifty swivels, etc.

"*Ethan Allen*, fearful of an attempt from Governour *Carleton* to retake the place, has written to the Committee of *Albany* for a supply of five hundred men and provisions. The Committee, however, not perceiving themselves competent to determine on a matter of so much importance, requested the advice of our General Committee, who referred them, and immediately despatched an express, to the Congress now sitting at *Philadelphia*."

NUMBERS XIX. and XX Page 54.

See Number VII. of this Appendix, where the authorship of this letter is referred to. The letter of May 9th, written by Rev. Thomas Allen to General Pomeroy, is given in such an imperfect form in the "Archives," that I give it here

in full from Dr. Field's "History of Pittsfield," p. 75. The portions italicised are omitted by Mr. Force, who probably follows a copy published at the time. The importance of the concluding paragraph is apparent.

"PITTSFIELD, May 9th, 1775.

GEN. POMEROY—SIR:

I shall esteem it a great happiness if I can communicate any intelligence to you, Sir, that shall be of any service to my country. In my last, I wrote to you of the northern expedition. Before the week ends, we are in raised hopes, here, of hearing that Ticonderoga and Crown Point are in other hands. *Whether the expedition fails or succeeds, I will send you the most early intelligence, as I look on it as an affair of great importance.* Solomon, the Indian king, at Stockbridge, was lately at Col. Easton's, of this town, and said there that the Mohawks had not only gave liberty to the Stockbridge Indians to join us, but had sent them a belt, denoting that they would hold in readiness 500 men, to join us immediately on the first notice, and that the said Solomon holds an Indian post in actual readiness to run with the news as soon as they shall be wanted. *Should the Council of War judge it necessary to send to them, after being better informed of the matter, by Captain Goodrich, now in the service, if you should issue out your orders to Col. Easton, I make no doubt that he could bring them down soon.* These Indians might be of great service, should the King's troops march out of Boston, as some think they undoubtedly will, upon the arrival of the recruits, and give no (us ?) battle.

Our militia, this way, Sir, are vigorously preparing for actual readiness. Adjacent towns, and this town, are buying arms and ammunition. There is a plenty of arms to be sold at Albany, as yet, but we hear, by order of the Mayor, etc., no powder is to be sold, for the present, there. The spirit of liberty runs high there, as you have doubtless heard by their post to our head quarters. I have exerted myself to disseminate the same spirit in King's District, which has of late taken a surprising effect. The poor Tories at Kinderhook are mortified and grieved, and are wheeling about, and begin to take the quick step. New York Government begins to be alive in the glorious cause, and to act with great vigor. *Some, this way, say that the King's troops will carry off all the plate, merchandize and plunder of the town of Boston, to pay them for their ignominious expedition, which, in my opinion, would not be at all inconsistent with the shameful principles of those who have sent them on so inglorious an expedition.*

I fervently pray, Sir, that our Council of War may be inspired with wisdom from above, to direct the warlike enterprise with prudence, discretion and vigor. O! may your councils and deliberations be under the guidance and blessing of Heaven! Since I began, an intelligible person, who left Ticonderoga Saturday before last, informs me, that having went through there and Crown Point about three weeks ago, all were secure; but, on his return, he found they were alarmed with our expedition, and would not admit him into the fort; that there were twelve soldiers at Crown Point, and he judged near two hundred at Ticonderoga; that these forts are out of repair, and much in ruins; that it was his own opinion our men would undoubtedly be able to take them; and that he met our men last Thursday, who were well furnished with cattle, and wagons laden with provisions,

and in good spirits, who, he supposed, would arrive there last Sabbath day, and he doubted not but this week they would be in possession of those forts. He informed them where they might obtain a plenty of ball, and there are cannon enough at Crown Point, which they cannot secure from us; that he saw the Old Sow from Cape Breton, and a number of good brass cannon, at Ticonderoga. Should this expedition succeed, and should the Council of War send up their orders for the people this way to transport by land twenty or thirty of the best cannon to headquarters, I doubt not but the people in this country would do it with all expedition. We could easily collect a thousand yoke of cattle for the business.

Since I wrote the last paragraph, an express has arrived from Benedict Arnold, Commander of the forces against Ticonderoga, for recruits; in consequence of which, orders are issued out for a detachment of eighteen men of each company in this regiment to march immediately, who will be on their way this day. I am, Sir, with great respect, your obedient Servant,

THOMAS ALLEN."

I am aware that it has been generally assumed that Arnold went through the towns in Western Massachusetts, and arranged with officers there to enlist his men. Sparks, in his *Life of Allen* (Am. Biog., Vol. I., p. 273), says that "Arnold had agreed with officers in Stockbridge to enlist and forward such (men) as could be obtained, making all haste himself to join the expedition, which he did not hear was on foot until he came to that town." *Smith*, in his "History of Pittsfield," Vol. I., p. 219, says that Arnold "is said to have authorized enlistments in Stockbridge; but, on reaching Pittsfield, he learned of the expedition which was anticipating him, and hastened to overtake it." But I am not aware of any evidence proving that he passed through either of these towns. I therefore place Arnold's letter from Rupert in contrast with Mr. Allen's from Pittsfield, and leave the reader to judge for himself whether the inference of the Text is well founded. For myself, I do not believe that he could have passed through Pittsfield, and commenced enlistments there without the knowledge of Mr. Allen, the Chairman of the Pittsfield Committee. If he had done so, *I do not believe he would have sent back an express from Rupert, to the towns in which he had commenced his enlistments, with the following letter, first published by Mr. Smith, in his "History of Pittsfield:"*

REUPORT, 8th May, 1775.

Gentlemen :—By the last information I can get, there is one hundred men, or more, at Ticonderoga, who are alarmed and keep a good look out. I am also informed the sloop has gone to St. Johns for provisions; that she had six guns mounted, and twenty men. We have only one hundred and fifty men gone on, which are not sufficient to secure the vessels and keep the lakes; this ought, by all means, to be done, that we may cut off their communication, and stop all supplies going to the fort, until we can have a sufficient number of men from the lower towns.

I beg the favor of you, gentlemen, as far down as this reaches, to exert yourselves, and send forward as many men to join the army here as you can possibly

spare. There is plenty of provisions engaged, and on the road, for five hundred men six or eight weeks. Let every man bring as much powder and ball as he can; also a blanket. Their wages are 40s. per month, I humbly engaged to see paid; also the blankets.

I am, Gentlemen, your humble Servant,

BENEDICT ARNOLD,

Commander of the Forces.

To the Gentlemen in the Southern Towns.

NUMBER XXI. Page 56.

BENEDICT ARNOLD TO THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY.

TICONDEROGA, May 11, 1775.

Gentlemen :—I wrote you yesterday, that, arriving in the vicinity of this place, I found one hundred and fifty men, collected at the instance of some gentlemen from *Connecticut* (designed on the same errand on which I came), headed by Colonel *Ethan Allen*, and that I had joined them, not thinking proper to await the arrival of the troops I had engaged on the road, but to attempt the fort by surprise; that we had taken the fort at four o'clock yesterday morning, without opposition, and had made prisoners, one Captain, one Lieutenant, and forty odd privates and subalterns, and that we found the fort in a most ruinous condition, and not worth repairing. That a party of fifty men were gone to *Crown Point*, and that I intended to follow with as many men, to seize the sloop, etc.; and that I intended to keep possession here until I had further advice from you. On and before our taking possession here, I had agreed with Colonel *Allen* to issue further orders jointly, until I could raise a sufficient number of men to relieve his people, on which plan we proceeded when I wrote you yesterday, since which, Colonel *Allen*, finding he had the ascendancy over his people, positively insisted I should have no command, as I had forbid the soldiers plundering and destroying private property. The power is now taken out of my hands, and I am not consulted; nor have I a voice in any matters. There is here, at present, near one hundred men, who are in the greatest confusion and anarchy, destroying and plundering private property, committing every enormity, and paying no attention to publick service. The party I advised were gone to *Crown Point*, are returned, having met with head winds, and that expedition, and taking the sloop (mounted with six guns), is entirely laid aside. There is not the least regularity among the troops, but everything is governed by whim and caprice,—the soldiers threatening to leave the garrison on the least affront. Most of them must return home soon, as their families are suffering. Under our present situation, I believe one hundred men would retake the fortress, and there seems no prospect of things being in a better situation. I have, therefore, thought proper to send an express, advising you of the state of affairs, not doubting you will take the matter into your serious consideration, and order a number of troops to join those I have coming on here; or that you will appoint some other person to take the command of them and this place, as you shall think most proper. Colonel *Allen* is a proper man to head his

own wild people, but entirely unacquainted with military service; and as I am the only person who has been legally authorized to take possession of this place, I am determined to insist on my right, and I think it my duty to remain here against all opposition, until I have further orders. I cannot comply with your orders in regard to the cannon, etc., for want of men. I have wrote to the Governor and General Assembly of *Connecticut*, advising them of my appointment, and giving them an exact detail of matters as they stand at present. I should be extremely glad to be honorably acquitted of my commission, and that a proper person might be appointed in my room. But as I have, in consequence of my orders from you, gentlemen, been the first person who entered and took possession of the fort, I shall keep it, at every hazard, until I have further advice and orders from you and the General Assembly of *Connecticut*.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen, your most obedient, humble Servant,
BENEDICT ARNOLD.

P. S. It is impossible to advise you how many cannon are here and at *Crown Point*, as many of them are buried in the ruins. There is a large number of iron, and some brass, and mortars, etc., lying on the edge of the lake, which, as the lake is high, are covered with water. The confusion we have been in has prevented my getting proper information, further than that there are many cannon shells, mortars, etc., which may be very serviceable to our army at *Cambridge*.

B. A.

NUMBERS XXII and XXIII. Page 58.

The proof that the expedition to *Crown Point* had not "been entirely laid aside," and that Arnold must have known it, is found in No. XII. of this Appendix.

ARNOLD TO MASSACHUSETTS COMMITTEE OF SAFETY.

TICONDEROGA, May 14, 1775.

Gentlemen :—My last was the 11th instant, per express, since which a party of men have seized on *Crown Point*, in which they took eleven prisoners, and found sixty-one pieces of cannon serviceable, and fifty-three unfit for service. I ordered a party to *Skenesborough*, to take Major *Skene*, who have made him prisoner, and seized a small schooner, which is just arrived here. I intend setting out in her directly, with a batteau and fifty men, to take possession of the sloop, which, we are advised this morning by the post, is at *St. Johns*, loaded with provisions, etc., waiting a wind for this place. Enclosed is a list of cannon, etc., here, though imperfect, as we have found many pieces not included, and some are on the edge of the lake, covered with water. I am, with the assistance of Mr. *Bernard Romans*, making preparation at *Fort George* for transporting to *Albany* those cannon that will be serviceable to our army at *Cambridge*. I have about one hundred men here, and expect more, every minute. Mr. *Allen's* party is decreasing, and the dispute between us subsiding. I am extremely sorry matters have not been transacted with more prudence and judgment. I have done everything in my power, and

put up with many insults to preserve peace and serve the publick. I hope soon to be properly released from this troublesome business, that some more proper person may be appointed in my room ; till which, I am, very respectfully, gentlemen, your most obedient, humble servant,

BENEDICT ARNOLD.

P. S. Since writing the above, Mr. *Romans* concludes going to Albany to forward carriages for the cannon, etc., and provisions, which will soon be wanted. I beg leave to observe he has been of great service here, and I think him a very spirited, judicious gentleman, who has the service of the country much at heart, and hope he will meet proper encouragement.

B. A.

NUMBER XXIV. Page 62.

MASSACHUSETTS CONGRESS TO BENEDICT ARNOLD.

WATERTOWN, May 22, 1775.

Sir :—This Congress have this day received your letter of the 11th instant, informing the Committee of Safety of the reduction of the Fort at *Ticonderoga*, with its dependencies, which was laid before this Congress by said Committee. We applaud the conduct of the troops, and esteem it a very valuable acquisition.

We thank you for your exertions in the cause, and considering the situation of this Colony at this time, having a formidable army in the heart of it, whose motions must be constantly attended to, and as the affairs of that expedition began in the Colony of *Connecticut*, and the cause being common to us all, we have already wrote to the General Assembly of that Colony to take the whole matter respecting the same under their care and direction, until the advice of the Continental Congress can be had in that behalf, a copy of which letter we now enclose to you.

• We are, etc."

On the same day, the Massachusetts Committee of Safety laid Arnold's letter of May 11th before the Provincial Congress of that State, and requested that body to "proceed thereon, in such manner as to them in their wisdom shall seem meet," adding the remark, "this Committee apprehend it to be out of their province in any respect whatever." The following is the letter in which the Committee, anticipating Arnold's refusal to yield up his command, relieve themselves of all further responsibility in the matter. This letter shows that Arnold not only had no commission or authority from the Congress of Massachusetts, but that all the authority he had was derived from the *Committee of Safety*. Arnold's claim that he was commissioned by the Congress of Massachusetts was unfounded. On the 26th of May, the Congress were obliged to call upon the Committee to ascertain the nature and extent of its arrangements with Arnold.

MASSACHUSETTS COMMITTEE OF SAFETY TO BENENICT ARNOLD.

"CAMBRIDGE, May 28, 1775.

The expedition to Ticonderoga, etc., requiring secrecy, the Congress of this Colony *was not acquainted with the orders you received from this Committee.* It gives us great pleasure to be informed by the express, Captain Brown, that the success you have met with is answerable to your spirit in the undertaking. *We have now to acquaint you that the Congress have taken up this matter, and given the necessary directions respecting these acquisitions. It is then, Sir, become your duty, and is our requirement, that you conform yourself to such advice and orders as you shall from time to time receive from that body.*" We arc, etc."

NUMBER XXV. Page 69.

The instructions of the Massachusetts Congress to the Committee were dated June 14th. It is evident from their tenor, that Arnold no longer retained the confidence of that Congress, and although he had some time before, while claiming to act under Massachusetts, put himself in direct communication with the Continental Congress, his efforts to secure the confidence of that body had met with no success, for on the 30th of May, immediately after the receipt of a letter from Arnold, stating that he had "certain intelligence" that four hundred regulars were at St. Johns, about to be joined by a large number of Indians, for the purpose of retaking Ticonderoga!" the Continental Congress "ordered that the President, in his letter, acquaint Governor Trumbull that it is the desire of the Congress that he should appoint a person *in whom he can confide, to command the forces at Crown Point and Ticonderoga.*"—(See *Journals of Cong.*, 1775, p. 111.)

Colonel Hinman, appointed under this resolution, was on the way to Ticonderoga, with his regiment. Arnold now made another desperate effort to retain the control of affairs on this frontier. On the 13th of June, he addressed a long letter to the Congress at Philadelphia, urging an invasion of Canada. Two weeks before, he had written that the Indians of Canada, with four hundred Regulars, were at St. Johns, on their way to recapture the forts on the lake. Now, he has the "agreeable intelligence that the Indians are determined not to assist the King's troops;" that the "Canadians are very impatient of our delay, and are determined to join us, whenever we appear in the country with any force to support them;" that "Gov. Carleton, by every artifice, has been able to raise only about twenty Canadians," and that if "Congress should think proper to take possession of Montreal and Quebec, (he is,) I am positive two thousand men might very easily effect it" He then suggests a plan of the expedition, and urges upon Congress the necessity of undertaking it. His letter closes with a "Memorandum:" "Propose, in order to give satisfaction to the different Colonies, that Colonel Hinman's Regiment, now on their march from Connecticut to Ticonderoga, should form part of the army—say one thousand men; 500 do. to be sent from New York, including one company of one hundred men, of the train of artillery, properly equipped; 500 do. *B. Arnold's Regiment, including seamen and marines on board the vessels! (No Green Mountain Boys!)*" etc. This letter also

contained the agreeable intelligence that the Indians of Canada "have made a law, that if any one of their tribe shall take up arms for that purpose (to assist the King's troops) *he shall immediately be put to death!*"

On the same day, June 13, Arnold wrote the Governor of Connecticut, urging the invasion of Canada, and stating that five chief men of the Indians, "who are now here with their wives and children, and press very hard for our army to march into Canada, as they are much disgusted with the regular troops." Gov. Carleton "is much disgusted with the merchants of Montreal, and has threatened them, if they will not defend the city, in case of an attack, he will set fire to it, and retreat to Quebec."

The extravagance of this letter defeated its purpose. Not the slightest attention was paid to it by Connecticut or the Continental Congress,—their confidence in Arnold no longer existed. The action of the Massachusetts Congress, already mentioned, followed. Its minute instructions to its committee of June 14, plainly show its determination to withdraw all its authority from Arnold, unless, as the instructions stated, "he was willing to continue at one or both of the said posts, *under the command of such chief officer as is, or shall be, appointed by the Government of Connecticut.*" In any other event, the committee was to direct Arnold "to return to this Colony, and render his account of the disposition of the money, ammunition and other things, which he received at his setting out upon his expedition; and also of the charges he has incurred, and the debts which he has contracted in behalf of this Colony, by virtue of the commissions and instructions aforesaid."

When Colonel Hinman's regiment reached Ticonderoga, Arnold was fully advised of the only terms upon which he could continue in the service. His reception and treatment of the committee, therefore, deserves particular mention.

REPORT OF THE CROWN POINT COMMITTEE TO THE MASSACHUSETTS CONGRESS.

CAMBRIDGE, July 6, 1775.

The Committee appointed to proceed to the posts of *Ticonderoga* and *Crown Point*, etc., beg leave to report, that they proceeded through the new settlements, called the New Hampshire Grants, and carefully observed the road through the same, and find that there is a good road from Williamstown to the place where the road crosseth the river called *Paulet River*, which is about fifteen miles from *Skeneborough*; from thence to the falls of *Wood Creek*, near Major Skene's house, the road is not feasible, and unfit for carriages, but cattle may be drove that way very well.

Your Committee, having taken with them the copies of the commission and instruction from the Committee of Safety to Col. *Benedict Arnold*, and informed themselves, as fully as they were able, in what manner he had executed his said commission and instructions, and find that he was with Colonel Allen and others at the time the fort was reduced, but do not find that he had any men under his command at the time of the reduction of those fortresses; but find that he did afterwards possess himself of the sloop on the lake at St. Johns. We find the said

Arnold claiming the command of said sloop and a schooner, which is said to be the property of Major *Skene*, and also all the posts and fortresses at the south end of *Lake Champlain* and *Lake George*, although Colonel *Hinman* was at *Ticonderoga* with near a thousand men under his command at the several posts.

Your Committee informed the said *Arnold* of their commission, and, at his request, gave him a copy of their instructions; upon reading of which he seemed greatly disconcerted, and declared he would not be second in command to any person whomsoever; and after some time contemplating upon the matter, resigned his post, and gave your Committee his resignation under his hand, dated the 24th of *June*, 1775, which is herewith submitted, and at the same time ordered his men to be disbanded, which, he said, was between two and three hundred. Your Committee not finding any men regularly under said *Arnold*, by reason of his so disbanning them, appointed Colonel *Easton*, who was then at *Ticonderoga*, to take the command, under Colonel *Hinman*, who was the principal commanding officer of those posts, of the *Connecticut* forces, and endeavored to give the officers and men who had served under said *Arnold* an opportunity to re-engage, of which numbers enlisted, and several of the officers agreed to hold their command under the new appointment. * * * * *

Your Committee found that as soon as Col. *Arnold* had disbanded his men, some of them became dissatisfied and mutinous, and many of them signified to the Committee that they had been informed that they were to be defrauded out of the pay for past services. The Committee, in order to quiet them, engaged under their hands, in behalf of the Colony of *Massachusetts Bay*, that as soon as the rolls should be made up and properly authenticated, they should be paid for their past services, and all those who should engage anew should have the same wages and bounty as is promised to those men who serve within said Colony." * * * * *

Your Committee, when they had received Col. *Arnold's* resignation, directed him to return to Congress, and render an account of his proceedings, agreeable to their instructions, a copy of which order is herewith submitted."

The remaining portions of the report have no reference to *Arnold*. The Committee recognized *Easton* as Colonel, appointed *John Brown* Major, and *Jonas Fay* Surgeon of the Post, and advised the Continental Congress and the New York Convention of the importance of holding *Ticonderoga* and *Crown Point*. The following letter from *Edward Mott* to Governor *Trumbull* supplies some incidents in the Committee's experience which policy would have prohibited them from making public at that time:

"ALBANY, July 6, 1775.

HONORED SIR:—I arrived here last night, ten o'clock, from *Ticonderoga*; am sent express by Col. *Hinman*, to acquaint the committee at this place, and also the Provincial Congress at *New York*, with the condition of the troops and garrisons at *Ticonderoga*, *Crown Point* and *Fort George*; expect to set out from hence to *New York* to-morrow; have not as yet waited on the committee here, but write these lines by Captain *Stevens*, who will not tarry, but sets out for home this morn-

ing. When I arrived at *Ticonderoga*, Colonel *Hinman* had no command there, as Colonel *Arnold* refused to let him command either of the garrisons, but had given the command of *Ticonderoga* to Captain *Herrick*, from whom Colonel *Hinman*'s men were obliged to take their orders, or were not suffered to pass to and from the garrison. The same day, a committee of three gentlemen from *Massachusetts*, viz.: Mr. *Spooner*, Colonel *Foster* and Colonel *Sullivan*, returned to *Ticonderoga* from *Crown Point*, and informed us that they had been to Colonel *Arnold*, with orders from the Congress requiring him to resign the command to Colonel *Hinman*, and that he, with his regiment, should come under the command of said *Hinman*, which said *Arnold* positively refused; on which the said Committee discharged Colonel *Arnold* from the service, and desired the privilege to speak with the people who had engaged under *Arnold*, but were refused. They further informed that Colonel *Arnold* and some of his people had gone on board the vessels; that they understood they threatened to go to *St. Johns* and deliver the vessels to the *Regulars*; and that *Arnold* had disbanded all his troops but those that were on board said vessels; that they were treated very ill, and threatened, and after they came away in a *batteau*, they were fired upon with swivel-guns, and small arms by *Arnold*'s people; and that Colonel *Arnold* and his men had got both the vessels, and were drawn off into the lake. On which I desired Colonel *Hinman* to let me, with Lieutenant *Halsey* and Mr. *Duer* (who was Judge of the Court for the County of *Charlotte*, in this Colony), with some men to row, have a *batteau*, and proceed up the lake, and go on board the vessels. We obtained liberty, and Colonel *Sullivan* consented to go with us. We got on board the vessels about eleven o'clock in the morning, and he confined three of us on board each vessel; men set over us with fixed bayonets, and so kept us till some time in the evening, when we were dismissed and suffered to return. We reasoned with the people on board the vessels all the while we were there, and convinced some of them of their error, who declared they had been deceived by Colonel *Arnold*. After we returned to the fort, called up Colonel *Hinman*, who ordered Lieutenant *Halsey*, with twenty-five men, to return again to the vessels, and get what people he could on board to join him, and bring one or both vessels to the fort, which was all settled the next day. Colonel *Sullivan* was much insulted while we were on board the vessels, chiefly by Mr. *Brown*, one of Col. *Arnold*'s captains. Captain *Stevens*, who is waiting while I write these lines, will not wait longer, or you should hear more particulars. I expect you will have a full account from the gentlemen committee, after they have laid it before their Congress. Captain *Elijah Babcock* can give a full account of these matters; he tells me he shall be at *Hartford* in a few days. Shall give further accounts from *New York*. I am, Sir, at command, your Honor's most obedient and humble Servant,

EDWARD MOTT.

To the Hon. Jonathan Trumbull, Esq., Governor."

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The following is Mr. Irving's account of the capture of *Ticonderoga*, from his "*Life of Washington*," Vol. I., p. 402-5. It is inserted here as well to justify

the statements of the text, as to show the judgment of an impartial and unprejudiced historian upon the general facts relating to the expedition. Although incorrect in some of its minor details, such as the date of the capture of Crown Point, and Arnold's enlistment of men in Western Massachusetts, wherein Mr. Irving has followed Mr. Sparks, the relation generally is as correct as it is vivid and exciting:

"As affairs were now drawing to a crisis, and war was considered inevitable, some bold spirits in Connecticut conceived a project for the outset. This was the surprisal of the old Forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, already famous in the French war. Their situation on Lake Champlain gave them the command of the main route to Canada; so that the possession of them would be all-important in case of hostilities. They were feebly garrisoned and negligently guarded, and abundantly furnished with artillery and military stores, so much needed by the patriot army.

"The scheme was set on foot in the purlieu, as it were, of the Provincial Legislature of Connecticut, then in session. It was not openly sanctioned by that body, but secretly favored, and money lent from the treasury to those engaged in it. A committee was appointed, also, to accompany them to the frontier, aid them in raising troops, and exercise over them a degree of superintendence and control.

"Sixteen men were thus enlisted in Connecticut, a greater number in Massachusetts, but the greatest accession of force was from what was called the "New Hampshire Grants." This was a region having the Connecticut River on one side, and Lake Champlain and the Hudson River on the other,—being, in fact, the country forming the present State of Vermont. It had long been a disputed territory, claimed by New York and New Hampshire. George II. had decided in favor of New York, but the Governor of New Hampshire had made grants of between one and two hundred townships in it, whence it had acquired the name of the New Hampshire Grants. The settlers on these Grants resisted the attempts of New York to eject them, and formed themselves into an association called "The Green Mountain Boys." Resolute, strong-handed fellows they were, with Ethan Allen at their head, a native of Connecticut, but brought up among the Green Mountains. He and his Lieutenants, Seth Warner and Remember Baker, were outlawed by the Legislature of New York, and rewards offered for their apprehension. They and their associates armed themselves, set New York at defiance, and swore they would be the death of any one who should attempt their arrest.

"Thus Ethan Allen was becoming a kind of Robin Hood among the mountains, when the present crisis changed the relative position of things, as if by magic. Boundary feuds were forgotten amid the great questions of Colonial rights. Ethan Allen at once stepped forward, a patriot, and volunteered, with his Green Mountain Boys, to serve in the popular cause. He was well fitted for the enterprise in question, by his experience as a frontier champion, his robustness of mind and body, and his fearless spirit. He had a rough eloquence, also, that was very effective with his followers. 'His style,' says one who knew him personally, 'was a singular compound of local barbarisms, scriptural phrases and oriental wildness; and although unclassic, and sometimes ungrammatical, was highly animated and

forcible.' Washington, in one of his letters, says there was 'an original something in him which commanded admiration!'

"Thus reinforced, the party, now two hundred and seventy strong, pushed forward to Castleton, a place within a few miles of the head of Lake Champlain. Here a council of war was held on the 2d (8th?) of May. Ethan Allen was placed at the head of the expedition, and James Easton and Seth Warner as second and third in command. Detachments were sent off to Skenesborough, (now Whitehall,) and another place on the lake, with orders to seize all the boats they could find, and bring them to Shoreham, opposite Ticonderoga, whither Allen prepared to proceed with the main body.

"At this juncture, another adventurous spirit arrived at Castleton. This was Benedict Arnold, since so sadly renowned. He, too, had conceived the project of surprising Ticonderoga and Crown Point; *or, perhaps, had caught the idea from its first agitators in Connecticut*, in the militia of which Province he held a captain's commission. He had proposed the scheme to the Massachusetts Committee of Safety. It had met with their approbation. They had given him a Colonel's commission; authorized him to raise a force in Western Massachusetts, not exceeding four hundred men, and furnished him with money and means. Arnold had enlisted but a few officers and men, when he heard of the expedition from Connecticut being on the march. He instantly hurried on, with one attendant, to overtake it, leaving his few recruits to follow as best they could. In this way he reached Castleton, just after the council of war.

"Producing the Colonel's commission received from the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, he now aspired to the supreme command. His claims were disregarded by the Green Mountain Boys; they would follow no leader but Ethan Allen. As they formed the majority of the party, Arnold was fain to acquiesce, and serve as a volunteer, with the rank, but not the command, of Colonel.

"The party arrived at Shoreham, opposite Ticonderoga, on the night of the 9th of May. The detachment sent in quest of boats, had failed to arrive. There were a few boats at hand, with which the transportation was commenced. It was slow work; the night wore away; day was about to break, and but eighty-three men, with Allen and Arnold, had crossed. Should they wait for the residue, day would dawn, the garrison wake, and their enterprise might fail. Allen drew up his men, addressed them in his own emphatic style, and announced his intention to make a dash at the fort, without waiting for more force. 'It is a desperate attempt,' said he; 'and I ask no man to go against his will. I will take the lead, and be the first to advance. You that are willing to follow, poise your firelocks.' Not a firelock but was poised.

"They mounted the hill briskly, but in silence, guided by a boy from the neighborhood. The day dawned as Allen arrived at a sally-port. A sentry pulled trigger on him, but his piece missed fire. He retreated through a covered way. Allen and his men followed. Another sentry thrust at Easton with his bayonet, but was struck down by Allen, and begged for quarter. It was granted on condition of his leading the way, instantly to the quarters of the Commandant, Capt. Delaplace, who was yet in bed. Being arrived there, Allen thundered at the door,

and demanded a surrender of the fort. By this time his followers had formed into two lines on the parade ground, and given three hearty cheers. The Commandant appeared at his door, half dressed, "the frightened face of his pretty wife peering over his shoulder." He gazed at Allen in bewildered astonishment. 'By whose authority do you act?' exclaimed he. 'In the name of the Great Jehovah, and the Continental Congress!' replied Allen, with a flourish of his sword, and an oath, which we do not care to subjoin.

"There was no disputing the point. The garrison, like the commander, had been startled from sleep, and made prisoners as they rushed forth in their confusion. A surrender accordingly took place. The captain, and forty-eight men, which composed the garrison, were sent prisoners to Hartford, in Connecticut. A great supply of military and naval stores, so important in the present crisis, was found in the fortress.

"Colonel Seth Warner, who had brought over the residue of the party from Shoreham, was now sent with a detachment against Crown Point, which surrendered on the 12th of May, without firing a gun. Here were taken upward of a hundred cannon.

"Arnold now insisted vehemently on his right to command Ticonderoga; being, as he said, the only officer invested with legal authority. His claims had again to yield to the superior popularity of Ethan Allen, to whom the Connecticut Committee, which had accompanied the enterprise, gave an instrument in writing, investing him with the command of the fortress and its dependencies, until he should receive the orders of the Connecticut Assembly or the Continental Congress. Arnold, while forced to acquiesce, sent a protest, and a statement of his grievances to the Massachusetts Legislature. * * * * *

"Thus a partisan band, unpractised in the art of war, had, by a series of daring exploits, and almost without the loss of a man, won for the patriots the command of Lakes George and Champlain, and thrown open the great highway to Canada.

On Centennial day a committee of gentlemen residing at Ticonderoga and vicinity was appointed to select suitable memorial stones or monuments to be placed on spots of historic interest in that place. Nothing was done by this committee. During the past summer Joseph Cook, who was spending his vacation in Ticonderoga, conceived the idea of beginning this work by erecting a monument on the spot where Lord Howe fell. He accordingly ordered a monument of fine white marble from the quarry of George D. Clark. The base is of Ticonderoga blue stone, and the following is the inscription:—

NEAR THIS SPOT

FELL,

JULY 6TH, 1758.

IN A SKIRMISH PRECEDING

ABERCROMBIE'S DEFEAT

BY MONTCALM,

LORD

GEORGE AUGUSTUS HOWE,

Aged 34.

Massachusetts erected a monument to him in Westminster Abbey. Ticonderoga places here this Memorial.

The Hon. C. H. Delano presided at the ceremony of unveiling, Thursday, August 29, and introduced Joseph Cook as the generous donor of the monument. Mr. Cook then delivered an eloquent address in his own inimitable manner. On commencing he spoke substantially as follows:—

We are assembled as Americans to dedicate a monument to an Englishman. We are here as republicans and democrats to honor the memory of a British lord. Our proceeding is apparently a strange one, but it needs no explanation to those who understand the historical associations of Ticonderoga. One hundred and twenty years ago, when Lord Howe fell on this spot, we were all Englishmen. George Washington was twenty-six years old, and in 1758 was about to be married to Martha Custis. Benjamin Franklin was fifty-two years old, and was engaged in Philadelphia in making experiments in electricity. Edmund Burke, the year before, had gone down to Sir John Nugent's in Bath, had married the daughter of that physician, and at the age of twenty-eight was founding a new home in England. In Massachusetts, such was the popularity of the Englishman who met death on this spot, that the young American Commonwealth, so soon to rebel against Great Britain, erected a monument to him in Westminster Abbey. On the pallid marble there I have read the name of our town inscribed upon the proud walls which enclose the dust of the most renowned poets, orators, statesmen, kings and queens of England. From this time onward, a monument here and the monument there will keep each other company in the world, and bring these romantic shores of the resounding outlet of Lake George in our native Ticonderoga into their proper relations to Westminster Abbey. The traveler or the citizen who muses over the marble at the side of the foaming cascades here will think also of the tablets, the storied busts, the stately architecture, the sublime anthem there.

Every one remembers that Frenchmen discovered the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. France, therefore, by right of discovery, claimed as hers all land traversed by waters running into these rivers. This was a colossal claim. Had it been conceded to her, it would have made North America French and Catholic, instead of English and Protestant; it would have made predominant in the early life of the New World the political absolutism of Louis XIV., instead of the freer institutions of England. George Bancroft says that not a fountain bubbled on the sunset side of the Alleghenies that France did not claim as hers. It was the bold and majestic purpose of the French statesmen to build a line of forts and trading-post-

issippi and at New Orleans. This stupendous chain, intended to prevent the growth of the English westward, shows yet its fragments on the map. At the mouth of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi we have today French populations, and a long list of French names extends yet all the way from the mouth of one river to that of the other. The French and Indian war was an attempt to break the hemming links of powerful and ambitious France, and prevent the English from being shut up forever to that narrow strip of America which lies eastward of the Alleghenies. George Washington's earliest public service was an effort to break one of the French links on the waters of western Pennsylvania. You remember how Braddock was crushed when he was hurled by the English against this chain. Montcalm, the ablest French general who ever trod American soil, was placed in command of Fort Ticonderoga, which the French erected in 1756.

Every stone laid at Ticonderoga was a weight of terror on the hearts of the colonists. Slowly ambitious France was encircling their feeble outposts, and connecting two of the largest rivers of North America, with a cordon of fortresses, continually pouring the horrors of savage warfare upon their extended and unprotected settlements. Schenectady blazing at midnight, the valley of Connecticut ravaged, the whole country of the Mohawk depopulated by torch and tomahawk and terror, were scenes consummated by the enemy, now at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, which roused to the intensest pitch the military spirit of New England and excited all the enthusiasm of the colonists for vengeance. At last, having passed the matter silently for many years, England demanded with emphasis and decision the demolition of the fort at Crown Point. What inefficiency or corruption had allowed to be consummated diplomacy could not then retrieve. Fully aroused by the refusal of France to comply with their demand, and with the finishing of the fort at Ticonderoga in 1756, England in the same year declared war. Two seasons, though the colonists presented the required contingents fully and promptly, were wasted by the inefficiency and delays of the British officials. Gathering boldness from these failures of the colonists, Montcalm collected the Indians at Ticonderoga, and, passing through Lake Horicon with an army of nine thousand (1757), besieged and captured Fort William Henry. Here occurred the massacre of the 1500, which marks the culminating point of French power upon the continent.

Dissatisfied at the conduct of the war, the people of England, now thoroughly awakened to the conquest of New France, at last found in William Pitt, the greatest statesman of English annals, a prime minister who comprehended the wants of the colonies, and by whose splendid combinations and stirring appeals the colonists were roused to execute the grand plan of attacking all the French fortresses at once. For this purpose the immense armament of Abercrombie and Howe was raised.

The splendid historic scene of the passage of Abercrombie through Lake Horicon on the morning of July 6, 1758, with his flotilla of nine hundred batteaux, rafts manned with artillery, and one hundred and thirty-four boats bearing nine thousand provincial troops and six thousand British veterans against Ticonderoga, at once the scourge, the terror and the coveted prize of England and her colonies, is familiar to all. The magnificent armament landed in the little cove on the west side of the lake, yet retaining the name of Howe's Landing. Before noon Stark and Rogers were pressing forward through the dense forest toward the French lines, four miles distant. Montcalm had 4000 men and daily expected a reinforcement of 3000 under M. De Levi. Abercrombie knew this, and hence without waiting for his artillery made preparation for an immediate attack.

Cautiously Putnam, with one hundred rangers, was sent in advance, while behind came the fifteen thousand, drawn up in four columns, the front one led by the eager Howe. "Keep back," said Putnam as they neared the place of expected conflict, "Keep back, my lord; you fare the best and soul of the army, and my life is worth but little." "Putnam," was the young man's only answer, "your life is as dear to you as mine is to me."

It was a hot July day of buzzing flies and swelling leaves; the timber and the underbrush good thick, and, despite their superior discipline and dress, Howe and his battalion were somewhat confused. With remarkable independence of action, the young nobleman had accommodated himself and regiment to the nature of the service, by cutting off his hair and fashioning his clothes for activity. Near the bridge over this brook, where, amid thick cedars and pines of enormous growth, it emptied into the brawling outlet of Horicon, they fell in with a party of French and Indians, confused in the dense forest, while retreating without guide to the lines. A sharp report of muskets mingling with the roar of the water, a rattle of balls among the trees and leaves, began the skirmish. At the first fire Howe fell, with another officer and several privates. Leaping behind the trees and crouching in the underbrush, Stark, Putnam and Rogers, with their rangers, accustomed to the Indian style of warfare, fought on. The rear columns coming up, spread out along the bank of the creek, and soon the French battalion heard the scattering roar of small arms breaking out all around them. In brief time, falling one by one, three hundred of their number were dead, and the remaining one hundred and fifty-eight surrendered.

Thrown out of rank by the skirmish and the forest, confused for want of guides, fatigued by the hot sun pouring in through the branches, and, most of all, discouraged by the death of their leader, the army marched back to the place of landing to bivouac until the next day. All that night they wept for Howe and told his virtues. With him," Mante, "the soul of the army seemed to expire. A ripple of crystal waves upon the white, sandy beach; a gush of melody from the whippoorwill in the pines; stars setting behind the bold western mountain mirrored in Lake George; but the soldiers on the bearskin couches or watching by the sentinel's posts admired none of them. Howe was dead. Till day appeared they thought of that, and of the revenge to come. Next day the English captured the French sawmills, and the day after, July 3, occurred the battle of Ticonderoga, in which Montcalm, with 1000 men behind the French lines on the promontory yonder, defeated Abercrombie's 5,000.

The next year Amherst captured Ticonderoga, but Montcalm was in Canada at the time. The French chain was broken by the capture of Quebec. When on the Plains of Abraham Wolfe heard the cry, "They fly! they fly!" it was decided that this continent was to be English and not French. Carlyle calls that battle an epoch in world history and the most important ever fought in America. But the battle with Montcalm which ended there began here. This spot is one of the edges of the Heights of Abraham. It has been thought by some that had Lord Howe lived, so popular was he both in America and in England, the Revolution itself might have been postponed. Lord Howe perished in a great cause at last victorious, and by the triumph of which Almighty God was beginning to mould to their present form the political religious institutions of America. [Mr. Cook here unveiled the monument and said:—]

We are not in a cemetery, but on a battle-field. I call on you, as this monument is now unveiled, to give three military cheers to the memory of Lord Howe, a Briton and yet an American.

The Hon. William E. Calkins, the Rev. T. W. Jones and the Rev. C. H. Delano followed with brief addresses. In response to a request from Mr. Jones, three rousing cheers were given to Mr. Cook for his generous gift.

A STORY OF TICONDEROGA. Dean Stanley

tells the following story in Fraser's Magazine: "In the middle of the last century the chief of the Campbells of Inverawe had been giving an entertainment at his castle on the banks of the Awe. The party had broken up and Campbell was left alone. He was roused by a violent knocking at the gate, and was surprised at the appearance of one of his guests, with torn garments and dishevelled hair, demanding admission. 'I have killed a man, and I am pursued by enemies. I beseech you to let me in. Swear upon your dirk—upon the cruachan or hip where your dirk rests—swear by Ben Cruachan—that you will not betray me.' Campbell swore, and placed the fugitive in a secret place in the house. Presently there was a second knocking at the gate. It was a party of his guests, who said, 'Your cousin Donald has been killed; where is the murderer?' At this announcement Campbell remembered the great oath which he had sworn, gave an evasive answer, and sent off the pursuers in a wrong direction. He then went to the fugitive and said, 'You have killed my cousin Donald. I cannot keep you here.' The murderer appealed to his oath, and persuaded Campbell to let him stay for the night. Campbell did so, and retired to rest. In the visions of that night the bloodstained Donald appeared to him with these words 'Inverawe, Inverawe, blood has been shed; shield not the murderer.' In the morning Campbell went to his guest, and told him that any further shelter was impossible. He took him, however, to a cave in Ben Cruachan, and there left him. The night again closed in, and Campbell again slept; and again the blood-stained Donald appeared. 'Inverawe, Inverawe, blood has been shed; shield not the murderer.' On the morning he went to the cave on the mountain, and the murderer had died. Again at night he slept, and again the bloodstained Donald rose before him and said, 'Inverawe, Inverawe, blood has been shed. We shall not meet again till we meet at Ticonderoga.' He woke in the morning, and behold it was a dream. But the story of the triple apparition remained by him, and he often told it among his kinsmen, asking always what the ghost could mean by this mysterious word of their final rendezvous.

"In 1758 there broke out the French and English war in America, which after many rebuffs ended in the conquest of Quebec by General Wolfe. Campbell of Inverawe went out with the Black Watch, the forty-second Highland regiment, afterward so famous. There, on the eve of an engagement, the general came to the officers and said, 'We had better not tell Campbell the name of the fortress which we are to attack tomorrow. It is Ticonderoga. Let us call it Fort George.' The assault took place in the morning. Campbell was mortally wounded. He sent for the general. These were his last words, 'General, you have deceived me; I have seen him again. This is Ticonderoga.'

2d copy

HISTORY OF THE ST. ALBANS RAID.

ANNUAL ADDRESS

BEFORE THE

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

DELIVERED AT MONTPELIER, VT.,

ON TUESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 17, 1876.

By HON. EDWARD A. SOWLES.



ST. ALBANS:
MESSENGER PRINTING WORKS.
1876.

Office of Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, Oct. 9, 1899

RESOLUTION AND CORRESPONDENCE.

The following Joint Resolution was adopted by the Senate and House of Representatives, at their biennial session, 1876:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, That the Secretary of the Senate be and is hereby directed to procure the printing in pamphlet form of fifteen hundred copies of the address delivered before the Vermont Historical Society on the 17th instant, by the Hon. Edward A. Sowles. That there be furnished to each member of the Senate and House of Representatives two copies; to each Town Clerk, one copy; to each college, normal school and academy in this state, one copy; to the Governor, each of the heads of departments, and each Judge of the Supreme Court, one copy; to the State Library, two hundred copies; to the Vermont Historical Society, two hundred and fifty copies, and that the remaining copies shall be divided between the public libraries in the State not otherwise supplied, under the direction of the State Librarian.

The following letter was addressed to Hon. Edward A. Sowles:

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE SENATE,
MONTPELIER, VT., OCTOBER 23, 1876.

Dear Sir: By a joint resolution adopted by the Senate and House of Representatives, I am directed to procure the printing of fifteen hundred copies of the address delivered by you before the Vermont Historical Society on the 17th instant, at Montpelier, on "The St. Albans Raid."

I would respectfully request you to furnish me with a copy of the above mentioned address for publication as soon as convenient.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

F. W. BALDWIN, *Secretary of the Senate.*

To which the following reply was received:

SENATE CHAMBER, MONTPELIER, VT., OCT., 25, 1876.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 23d inst., informing me officially that a joint resolution adopted by the Senate and House of Representatives directed you to procure the printing of fifteen hundred copies of my address delivered before the Vermont Historical Society in the Representatives' Hall, at Montpelier, on the 17th inst., on "The St. Albans Raid," is received.

The address was prepared hastily, without any expectation that I should be called on by the Legislature to furnish a copy for publication. My private engagements and official duties have been such as to prevent a revision of the same. This, alone, might be ground for hesitancy in complying with the flattering request. I have concluded, however, to furnish it, trusting that the printer will correct and the public overlook all imperfections that may appear in so hastily written a production.

Yours Very Respectfully,

EDWARD A. SOWLES.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, 1876.

The annual meeting of the Vermont Historical Society was called to order in room No. 12, in the State House, at Montpelier, on Tuesday, October 17th, 1876, at 2 p. m.

The records of the last meeting were read and approved.

On motion, the following gentlemen were appointed a committee to nominate officers for the coming year: Samuel Wells, Dr. P. D. Bradford and Charles Dewey.

The Librarian's report was read by Mr. M. D. Gilman, the librarian, showing that the number of additions to the collections of the Society for the last two years is 4,784, for which acknowledgement has been made to each donor.

The Treasurer's report was read by Col. H. D. Hopkins, and ordered recorded.

E. B. Campbell, of Brattleboro, and J. G. Darling, of Boston, were elected honorary members.

The committee on nominations reported a list of officers for the ensuing year. Rev. Dr. Lord declined a re-election as president, and the report was on motion recommitted. Charles W. Porter and John W. Page were elected members of the Society. The following nominations were reported and the gentlemen named elected officers of the Society:

President—Hon. E. P. Walton, of Montpelier.

Vice-Presidents—Hon. James Barrett, of Woodstock, Luther L. Dutcher, of St. Albans, and Rev. Wm. S. Hazen, of Northfield.

Recording-Secretary—Chas. W. Porter, of Montpelier.

Corresponding-Secretaries—Hon. G. G. Benedict, of Burlington, O. S. Bliss, of Georgia.

Treasurer—John W. Page, of Montpelier.

Librarian—Marcus D. Gilman, of Montpelier.

Curators—Hon. R. S. Taft, of Burlington; H. A. Cutting, M. D., of Lunenburg; Hon. Gilbert A. Davis, of Reading; Rev. W. H. Lord, D. D., of Montpelier, and H. A. Huse, Esq., of Montpelier.

Printing and Publishing Committee—Ex. Gov. Hiland Hall, of Bennington; Hon. E. P. Walton, of Montpelier, Rev. W. H. Lord, of Montpelier.

President Walton, on taking the chair, read the following letter from T. W. Wood:

MONTPELIER, Vt., Oct. 17, 1876.

HON. E. P. WALTON:

My Dear Sir—Will you do me the favor to present to the Vermont Historical Society the portrait of Rev. Wm. H. Lord, D. D., which I have painted for the Society, with the hope that it may be the commencement of a collection of portraits of men who make the history of our State?

Very Truly Yours,

T. W. WOOD.

Hon. Joseph Poland offered the following resolutions, which were adopted:

Resolved, That the hearty thanks of this Society be, and hereby are, tendered to the Artist, Thomas W. Wood, Esq., of Montpelier, for the presentation of the accurate and finely executed portrait of its retiring president, the Rev. Dr. William H. Lord.

Resolved further, That the Secretary and Librarian be requested to arrange with the proper officers for a suitable place in the State-House for its preservation and exhibition.

Resolved, That the Secretary and Librarian of this Society be, and are hereby directed, to receive such portraits of eminent and worthy citizens of the State as may be presented for preservation, and cause the same to be properly placed in the capitol.

Resolved, That a committee of five, to be appointed by the President, be raised to co-operate in behalf of this Society in such celebrations as may be had on Vermont centennial days in 1877, at Westminster, Windsor, Hubbardton and Bennington.

Hon. G. A. Davis offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the Treasurer of the Society be required to give a good and sufficient bond, for such sum as the Finance Committee shall deem necessary for the safety of the funds of the Society.

Dr. P. D. Bradford offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the Recording-Secretary is requested to prepare complete lists of the resident, corresponding, and honorary members of the Society, for publication with the proceedings.

A revolutionary relic of great interest, a sword of the war of the revolution, was presented by Miss Hemenway.

The Society then adjourned to half-past seven o'clock p. m., then to meet in the hall of the House of Representatives, to be addressed by the Hon. Edward A. Sowles, of St. Albans, on the so-called "St. Albans Raid."

EVENING SESSION.

The Society met and was addressed by Hon. Edward A. Sowles, when it adjourned to October 24th, 3 o'clock, p. m.

OCTOBER 24, 1876.

The Society met pursuant to adjournment.

The President appointed the committee on Vermont Centennial days in 1877 as follows: Hon. Hiland Hall, of Bennington; Rev. P. F. Barnard, of Westminster; Rev. Franklin Butler, of Windsor; Hon. Gilbert A. Davis, of Reading, and Cyrus Jennings, Esq., of Hubbardton.

The following named gentlemen were admitted to membership in the Society, to wit: Hon. Oscar E. Butterfield, Wilmington; Rev. James H. Babbitt, of Waitsfield; George E. Eaton, Esq., of Danville, and Geo. W. Wing, A. W. Ferrin and Charles Guernsey, of Montpelier.

The Society adjourned without day.

ADDRESS.

THE ST. ALBANS RAID.—In July 1863, S. R. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy of the so called Confederate States of America, sent twenty-seven commissioned officers and forty petty officers to Canada, to organize an expedition against Johnson's Island in Sandusky Bay, in the State of Ohio, for the purpose of releasing several thousands of Confederate prisoners of war, there held by the United States Government. The facts as there ascertained were reported to the Confederate Congress in December 1863.

On the 20th of December, 1863, Hon. William H. Seward, then Secretary of State, sent a dispatch to Hon. Charles Francis Adams, American Minister at the Court of St. James, for Earl Russell, British Foreign Minister, referring to Mr. Mallory's report, in which he said: "In the opinion of this Government, a toleration in Great Britain, or in those provinces, of the practices avowed by the insurgents, after the knowledge of them now communicated to his lordship, would not be neutrality, but would be a permission to the enemies of the United States to make war against them from British shores."

On the 20th of May, 1864, the Hon. J. F. Howard, United States Consul at St. John, N. B., likewise communicated to Mr. Seward information that an unusually large number of disloyal citizens of the United States had quite recently passed that city *en route* for Canada *via* Fredricton and *Riviere du Loup*.

The greater part of these insurgents had been living for some months in Halifax—others had found their way north from Nassau and Bermuda. The rebel general Frost had also then recently proceeded to Canada from St. John, N. B.

On the 31st of May, 1864, Mr. Seward officially communicated the facts contained in Mr. Howard's letter to Lord Lyons, British Minister at Washington, and the latter transmitted the same to Viscount Monck, then Governor-General of Canada, as well as to the British Government.

On the 29th of July, 1864, Col. R. H. Hill, in command at Detroit, Michigan, communicated to General Dix, in command of the Department of the East, that certain leading men of the South had found their way through the Union lines into the neighboring provinces of Canada, and it was soon ascertained beyond question that Jacob Thompson, formerly Secretary of the Interior, C. C. Clay, Jr., and George W. Saunders, formerly members of the U. S. Congress, were the accredited agents of the Confederate States in Canada, stationed at Niagara and other important points.

The purposes of their mission became very apparent to Mr. Seward and Mr. Stanton, Secretary of War. Accordingly, Mr. Seward, on the 9th of August, 1864, again enclosed to Lord Lyons, copies of communications "in regard to reported hostile projects of insurgent citizens of the United States lurking in Canada, with a view to inquiry into the matter, and to the adoption of precautionary measures. "Lord Lyons, as it appears from the correspondence, placed the British Government in full possession of all the facts.

About the 20th of November, 1863, Governor Smith, then Governor of Vermont, doubtless alarmed at the demonstrations, asked the War Department at Washington for 5,000 rifled muskets, a large quantity of ammunition, horses for a battery, and authority to station troops at Swanton, St. Albans and Burlington. Col. Ludlow was sent to Vermont by Major General Dix, on the 25th of November, 1863, and on the 28th of November, General Dix telegraphed Mr. Stanton, as follows: "Colonel Ludlow telegraphs all is arranged well in Vermont." On the 30th of November, 1863, Mr.

Seward sent a dispatch to Lord Lyons, as follows: "In the present peaceful aspect of affairs we shall not make any such military demonstrations, or preparations on the Vermont line, as General Dix suggests. Nor shall I call on Her Majesty's Government for any special attention in that direction."

In October, 1864, as it appears from testimony taken by the writer to be used before the Mixed Commission on American and British claims, there were between 15,000 and 20,000 of these insurgents domiciled and lurking about in the Provinces of Canada. The Dorion-McDonald Government of Canada had been in favor of active steps to preserve strict neutrality towards the United States, and had sometime previously to the 20th of November, 1863, detected and prevented a conspiracy to commit a raid on Johnson's Island by the use of barges to be loaded with these insurgents, and to be towed by steamers through the Lachine Canal into Lake Erie, and thence into Sadusky Bay. But this strong array of Southerners, by means of their social qualities, and the free use of money, had succeeded in creating a sentiment in Canada, adverse to the Northern States, which, together with the hostility of the friends of the Cartier-McDonald Government, tended to the overthrow of the Dorion-McDonald Government after being in power only eighteen months, and the restoration of the Cartier-McDonald Government, with their consequent friendly relations to the Southern Confederacy.

The testimony taken to be used before the Mixed Commission, and such as was taken at the Military trial of the assassins of President Lincoln and the assailants of Secretary Seward, and the criminal trial of John H. Suratt; the expedition of Bennett G. Burley and acting Master John Y. Beall, afterwards hung by order of General Dix, in New-York harbor, for piracy; in the capture of the steamers "Philo Parsons" and "Island Queen;" in their efforts to reach Johnson's Island and to likewise capture or destroy the U. S. Steamer "Michigan," then guarding rebel prisoners on that island, on the 19th of September 1864; the St. Albans raid under Lieut. Bennett H. Young, on the 19th of October 1864; the effort of Dr. Blackburn to send clothing infected with yellow fever and

small pox from Canada into the United States, to depopulate the loyal people of the north, and the assassination of President Lincoln on the 14th of April, 1865, taken in connection with the letter of C. C. Clay Jr., to the Hon. J. P. Benjamin, Secretary of the Confederate States, bearing date Nov. 1st, 1864, and that of Jacob Thompson to the same person under date of Dec. 3d, 1864, and the fact that John Wilkes Booth was proven to have been in Canada in secret consultation with Thompson and Sanders before the St. Albans raid, and likewise a short time before the assassination of President Lincoln—all show conclusively to the mind of any reader, that there was a conspiracy plotted and organized in Canada to commit all those outrages by means of raids, murders and assassination, as a last resort to save that so-called "Southern Confederacy, as Alexander H. Stevens then said, "whose corner stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is *not* equal to the white man—that slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition."

This brings us to an intelligent understanding of the origin of the St. Albans raid, and now we may the better trace its progress, consummation and results as a part of a great conspiracy.

On that memorable 19th day of October, 1864, at about the same hour that Sheridan was pursuing the rebels in the Shenandoah Valley, and a company of St. Albans Boys, with other Vermont soldiers, were hotly engaged with the enemy at the battle of Cedar Creek, about three o'clock in the afternoon—parties of from three to five persons—numbering in all from twenty to fifty persons, then domiciled or commorant within Her Majesty's provinces of Canada, in the form and appearance of a military array, took forcible and armed possession of a part of the village of St. Albans, under Lieutenant Bennett H. Young as their leader, for the general intent and purpose of carrying on and committing acts of forcible depredations, rapine and war, from the provinces of Canada as a base of operations, and as a shelter for immediate retreat, against and upon the persons and property of unarmed and peaceable citizens of St. Albans. They were armed with large

navy revolvers, concealed under a loose coat, and had belts and traveling bags or haversacks thrown across their shoulders.

They first made a secret and simultaneous attack upon the three banks in the village, closed the outer doors and made prisoners of their inmates.

In the First National Bank, Albert Sowles, the cashier, was present. He testifies as follows: "One of these strangers approached the counter on the other side of which I was standing opposite him. As he came up to the counter, he suddenly drew from a 'holster' with which he was equipped, a large navy revolver, and, cocking and pointing the same at me, said, 'if you offer any resistance I will shoot you dead, you are my prisoner.'

At this moment two other strangers similarly equipped, came into the bank, one of them remaining at, and guarding the door, while the other passed behind the counter where I was standing, and went to the iron safe of the bank, in my rear, which contained the funds of the bank, and commenced stuffing bank bills, bonds, treasury notes and other securities into his pockets. After he had filled his pockets, he commenced throwing bonds, bank bills and treasury notes and private papers across the counter to his confederates on the other side, who took them and filled their pockets in like manner. I was greatly intimidated and considered my life in danger. While these things were going on, one of the party said 'we represent the Confederate States of America and we come here to retaliate for acts committed against our people by General Sherman.' He said 'it will be of no use to offer any resistance, as there are a hundred soldiers belonging to our party in your village.' He said 'you have got a very nice village here, and if there is the least resistance to us, or any of our men are shot, we shall burn the village.' He said, these are our orders, and each man is sworn to carry them out.'"

These men took from this bank \$58,000. The cashier was taken prisoner and placed under guard on the public park in front of the banking house. As they were marching him out of the bank, William H. Blaisdell, a clothier, and customer of the bank, coming up, caught hold of one of the guards and

threw him from the steps of the bank to the ground. Two of the party hastened back, one of them shouting, "shoot him, shoot him," giving this order to the man under Blaisdell. They then took Blaisdell with other citizens across the street to the public park, where there were a number of persons then under guard.

The names of the persons who made this attack upon this bank, as afterwards ascertained, were Joseph McGrooty, Alexander Pope Bruce and Caleb McDowell Wallace, the latter claiming to be a nephew of the late Senator Crittenden, a distinguished statesman from Kentucky.

General John Nason, brigadier-general of volunteers, a man nearly eighty years old, was in the bank during the whole affray and was engaged in reading a newspaper. He was deaf, and not hearing what had transpired, but seeing the brandishing of revolvers, he inquired of Sowles, "What gentlemen are those? It seems to me they are rather rude in their behavior."

At the St. Albans Bank, Cyrus N. Bishop, Assistant Cashier, and Martin A. Seymour, Clerk, were present. Mr. Bishop testified: "Two strangers stepped up to the counter in the bank together, and at once presented revolvers at me over the counter. I immediately ran into the directors' room and undertook to shut the door, but they seized hold of the door before I had closed it, and pressing hard against it, succeeded in pushing it open. They then seized hold of me with one hand and pointed large navy revolvers at me with the other, which revolvers were cocked, threatening to blow my brains out if I made any resistance or gave any alarm. At that moment three other strangers entered the bank, each with a revolver in his hand. Then they inquired where we kept our gold and silver. I said to them that we had not any gold, but we had a few hundred dollars in silver, which was in a small safe in that room. The safe being locked, they forced me to unlock it by threatening my life. One of them stood guard at the entrance of the bank and two more stood guard over Mr. Seymour, the clerk, and myself, while the other two proceeded to take the money out of the safes and from the table where I

was at work when they first entered the bank. As they took the money, they stuffed it into their pockets and haversacks, which were slung across their shoulders. I asked them 'what is your programme?' They said that they were Confederate soldiers from General Early's army in the Shenandoah Valley. They said that they had come here to rob us and burn our town, and they had it under their control at that moment. They then said they would administer the oath of the Confederate States to me. The leader of the gang then proceeded to administer some kind of an oath to me. He compelled me to raise up my right hand and called upon me to solemnly swear that I would not give alarm or fire upon the Confederate soldiers. That is about all I can remember of the oath in question. At the same time they threatened Mr. Seymour's life, and administered a similar oath to him. About this time Samuel Breck came to the outer door. One of the party took hold of him by the collar with one hand, presenting a revolver at him with the other. This person demanded Mr. Breck's money. Mr. Breck replied, 'It is private property,' when this man said, 'I don't care a d—n for that.' After taking his money, he was forced by the party into the directors' room, and there with Mr. Seymour and myself detained as prisoner."

Mr. Seymour's testimony was substantially like that of Mr. Bishop, only he says his captor said, "Not a word out of your head. We are here to retaliate for the doings of General Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley. There are seventy-five men of us in town. We have got possession of your town and are going to burn it." During this time the leader of the gang administered what he called the "'Confederate oath,' that we would do nothing to injure the interests of the Confederate Government; that we would not fire upon any of its soldiers now in town, and that we would not tell any one they had been there within two hours after they had left." They took from this bank \$73,522. Mr. Bishop afterwards identified three of the gang in open court, who gave their names as Thomas Bronsdon Collins, Marcus Speer and Square Turner Travis.

At the Franklin County Bank, Marcus W. Beardsley, cashier, and one Jackson Clark, a wood sawyer, were present, and the treatment of these men was more brutal in its character, if possible, than either of the others. Mr. Beardsley testified: "Three or four strangers came into the bank at the same time, and took position near the window opening into the street. I supposed they were waiting for the man standing at the counter to complete his business. In a moment after, one of the men who had last entered the bank stepped a few paces towards the counter and drew from under his coat a large revolver and cocking it, pointed it directly at me without a word being said. While holding it pointed at me, the stranger who had first entered the bank spoke to me saying, 'We are Confederate soldiers, sir. There are one hundred of us in town. We have come to rob the banks and burn your town and we are going to do it.' This he spoke in a very determined sort of a way, and I was much alarmed.

At that time a man in my employ, being alarmed at the demonstrations that were being made, started for the door. He was immediately arrested by one of the men, who put a pistol to his head and said, 'I will blow your brains out if you stir another inch.' Clark was ordered to be put into the vault of the bank. The man in command then ordered me 'to bring first all of the greenbacks you have got, and then all the other moneys of your bank.' I opened the drawer and gave him all the greenbacks we had. During this time two other men, who had put Clark into the vault, were filling their pockets and haversacks, which they had thrown across their shoulders, with the bills of the bank, from an iron safe standing within the vault, the door of which was open.

All the men were soon thus engaged, excepting one, who stood at the door at the entrance of the bank. At this time one of the men brought out of the vault a small tin trunk, and said to me, 'What is this?' I told him it belonged to the Teller of the bank, who was absent. He asked me what was in it. I told him I did not know. He then said with an oath, 'I will know what is in it.' He then undertook to force the cover off, but failing, threw it aside. Then he stood up in

front of me and with an oath said, 'you keep quiet or I will blow your brains out.' By this time they had got all the moneys of the bank. The men all came out of the vault, excepting Clark.

The leader then spoke to me and said, 'Come, you must go into the vault.' I told him it was an air-tight place and I could not live in there. I said, 'I understand what your object is. It is that I shall give no alarm.' He replied, 'no matter, you have got to go in.' He took me by the shoulders and put me into the vault where Clark was. I was satisfied that if I made any resistance they would shoot me.

They then shut the two sets of iron doors which enclosed the vault, and turned the bolts from the outside, so that we could not get out. I very much feared the building was going to be burned, as they had stated. In about twenty minutes I heard footsteps and conversation in the banking room, and I made a noise on the door to attract attention. This was heard without and the doors were unbolted and we came out of the vault. The persons who opened the vault doors were J. R. Armington and Dana R. Bailey. I found myself in a very prostrate condition, owing to the close atmosphere in a small vault, and the intense fear and anxiety that I had passed through."

The amount taken from the bank was about \$70,000, and the only person indentified as having participated in the affair was William H. Hutchinson, who resided in the State of Georgia, and who, by "the fortunes of war" had lost a large fortune on account of his secession proclivities. Lieutenant Young had prepared "a proclamation" which he designed to have read to the people of St. Albans, but in his hasty retreat failed to do so. It recited, in terms, the purpose of their mission, which was retaliation. The original was found at the time but could not afterwards be found.

What transpired in the streets immediately after the plundering of the banks is best described in the testimony of Capt. George P. Conger, then a late captain of one of the Vermont Cavalry companies, who had just returned from the war, and who had seen many raids in Virginia. He says: "On that day,

a little after three o'clock in the afternoon, I rode into the northerly part of the village of St. Albans from the east. I saw a great crowd of people towards the south part of the business portion of the village, around the American House and one of the banks. I met one Basford running his horse towards me, and he said, 'What is going on down street? there are men with pistols, taking horses from the stables,' and wanted to know what it all meant. I said to him, 'It is a regular raid.' I then jumped from my team and came south. The first one of the band I met was in command, whom I afterwards learned was Lieutenant Bennett H. Young, as he gave me his name and that of his orderly. He said, 'Are you a soldier?' I said, 'No.' Then he said, you are my prisoner, come with me to the other side of the green, opposite the American House.' I went with him. I said, 'I will take the sidewalk, as the road is all mud.' When he got opposite the Franklin County bank, near the American House, Lieutenant Young said, 'Halt!' He said to his orderly, 'You take him across the street.' There were a number of citizens under guard across the street, on the public green, at the time. I made up my mind that I would not be arrested by the band. I got away from them and ran into the American House, and down stairs, and down Lake street by the back way and then halloed to the people, 'Bring on your arms for a fight; there is a regular raid on St. Albans.' Then I came back in front of the American House, dressed in disguise. About that time I began to rally the citizens, and fire arms began to come in. The band saw the arms coming, and they began to move north. Then Lieut. Young fell in the rear with his orderly. He says 'Keep cool boys!' 'Keep cool!' One Downing says, 'Here is a rifle, sure fire, and well loaded.' I snapped it three times at Young, but it did not go off. I then followed on north and got some caps for guns. I then put on a new cap and came near to them. Then Young and his orderly both fired at me twice. He then said, 'Keep cool boys,' a second time. His command at this time were all on horseback. I then overtook them again, with a large number of citizens, a little further north, opposite the Tremont House, then one of the principal

hotels in the village, and tried to fire again. Then the firing began on both sides and continued a running fire all through the streets until the band were driven out of the village towards Canada."

While this firing was going on, Elias J. Morrison, of Manchester, N. H., a contractor engaged in building the Welden House, was mortally wounded by a bullet passing into his bowels, and died from his wounds on the 22d of October, 1864. Mr. Morrison was a sympathizer with the South on the issues growing out of the rebellion. He had held conversation with one or two of the raiders at the hotel a few days before the raid, in which he disclosed to them his sentiments, not suspecting the real character and purposes of the men. They afterwards, on learning the facts, said that the shot was not designed for Mr. Morrison, but for other persons skulking behind shade trees in the act of firing revolvers at them.

Collins H. Huntington, Esq., of St. Albans, was likewise shot while walking on the street, the ball passing into the body and striking a bone, caused it to change its course and thereby saved his life. He was shot by Lieutenant Young, who ordered him to "to halt," which he declined to do, but bravely marched along, not heeding his threats. He was in a critical condition for several weeks and finally recovered from his injuries.

Lorenzo Bingham was shot in the side, but the wound proved to be a slight one and he soon recovered.

Capt. Conger adds: "I then said to the citizens, 'bring on your horses, men and arms, and we will follow them.' I said, 'if you can't get arms there is no use of following them, they are going to fight hard.' The citizens did find horses and some arms, and I, in command, pursued this band and came near them at Sheldon, Vermont. They were trying to set buildings on fire, but we pursued them so closely they were obliged to leave. They set two bridges on fire across the river, in order to cut off our pursuit, but my men put out the fires. It was now nearly dark. My command then began to falter, as they were not used to such service, but kept following up until we got to Enosburgh Falls, Vermont. I said to my

men, 'I want you to follow me. I am going to follow these men into Canada, we have got to have another fight, and I want none unless they are willing to fight.' There were twenty-two of them who had kept up, and were willing to follow me wherever I wished to take them. I then marched on 'a still hunt' to Frelighsburgh in the Province of Canada. I then formed my men in front of the main hotel in line. I then entered the hotel with an orderly to see if I could find any of the band. I learned that the band had broken and dispersed in every direction on crossing the line in Canada.

I ordered the arrest of every one of the band that could be found. It occurred to me at this moment that I was in Canada, and I therefore ordered my men back into the State of Vermont.

It was now near morning and after we had got our breakfast, I said to my men, I am going back into Canada, and all my men followed me. I gave them orders to take the men comprising said band wherever found, dead or alive. As I was coming in sight of Frelighsburgh, Canada, I saw a man approaching me on the run. I ordered a halt. The man gave me a dispatch from General Dix, forwarded by Colonel Redfield Proctor from Burlington and by Constable L. A. Drew as bearer to Colonel Benton at St. Albans, and thence by Mr. Drew to Frelighsburgh. It was as follows: 'Send all the efficient force you have and try to find the marauders who came from Canada this morning. Put a discreet officer in command, and in case they are not found on one side of the line pursue them into Canada, if necessary, and destroy them.'"

Such an order could only be justifiable, under the law of nations, where the neutral is so feeble as to render it impossible to preserve neutrality—which could not have been said of Great Britain—and hence the order was not sanctioned by the Government at Washington, and all that was done under it was attended with extreme peril to our citizens. Nevertheless, the order accomplished its purposes in awakening Great Britain to her sense of danger, chiefly because it had the ring of that celebrated order, "If any man hauls down the flag shoot him on the spot."

Capt. Newton, in command of another company, took a westerly route, with a view of cutting off the retreat of the band, but was unable to do so for want of time.

The reign of terror in the village of St. Albans, during the attack and immediately following it, was fearful. Plunder had been accomplished and violence followed. The raid was brief but the scene was terrible while it lasted. The twenty or more marauders rushed up and down the streets, firing their revolvers in every direction. Wherever they saw a citizen, or groups of men, they would fire in that direction. As they retreated, they fired indiscriminately at men, women and children, in their houses, and as they were fleeing from them. They had magnificent arms—seven shooters—and as fast as one weapon was unloaded, they drew another and kept up the fusillade.

This reckless use of firearms could only result in injury to some, and the citizens soon began to return the fire with great courage. The marauders designed to have burned the village by the use of chemicals, known as "Greek fire," which they threw in vials against the buildings on the streets, breaking and igniting as they struck. The rear of the American House and the store of Hon. Victor Atwood were fired in this manner, and water appeared to have no impression on it as an extinguisher. It could only be arrested and extinguished by hewing it out of the wood.

Indeed, this terror was not confined to the scene of conflict alone. It spread with the rapidity of lightning throughout the land, and threw consternation into homes and villages along the entire northern frontier, contiguous to the Provinces of Canada, and especially on the northern border of Vermont. At Montpelier the Legislature was in session and the excitement was intense. It was the prevailing opinion that these marauders were but the advance guards of an army from Canada, which had, by surprise or collusion, temporarily overpowered their local government, and were marching through our State carrying all the horrors of war to our homes and firesides.

Hon. John W. Stewart was then a member of the Legis-

lature and was appointed a committee to wait on Gov. Smith in the Executive chamber, and advise with him in regard to the emergency. General Washburn was likewise present and apparently evinced as much anxiety and concern as at the battle of Big Bethel.

After a council of war, Gov. Smith telegraphed Lord Monck, Governor-General of Canada, as follows: "A party of raiders from the Province of Canada have invaded this State, have robbed all the banks in St. Albans, killed several citizens, and are plundering and destroying property." On the 21st of October, 1864, Lord Monck replied, "Your telegram has been received. You need entertain no apprehension that the law will not be impartially administered. An able magistrate, Judge Coursol of Montreal, has charge of the case."

At Burlington the wildest consternation prevailed. It was reported that the advance was general and the raiders had captured one of the steamers belonging to the Champlain Transportation Company, with a view to an attack upon all the principal ports on the lake. Oscar A. Burton, Esq., President of the Company, was interviewed and immediately sent a telegram to Rouses Point, N. Y., inquiring for particulars, and on learning that the report was unfounded, ordered the steamers at Rouses Point to be moved away from the moorings out into the lake to avoid surprise. He also furnished the crews of the various steamers with revolvers, in order to prevent and suppress piracy, such as had occurred on the 7th of December previously, to the steamer "Chesapeake," about twenty miles from Cape Cod, when certain disloyal men embarked at New York City for Portland, Maine, shot some of the officers and took control of the vessel, running her into a British port.

A general alarm was given and the citizens assembled in large numbers. Speeches were made and the press, under the direction of Hons. G. G. Benedict and George H. Bigelow, faithfully chronicled the important events. A military company was organized on the spot. A train of cars was at once dispatched to St. Albans, carrying volunteers.

Colonel Benton was placed in command of the militia at St. Albans, and Colonel Proctor at Burlington. Major Grout was

soon after ordered to St. Albans with four companies of cavalry and two field pieces, where he remained a long time. At Ogdensburg, Buffalo, Detroit and many other places, the excitement was great and military operations became active and efficient, and so continued that fall and winter. Rumors of contemplated attacks filled the air until the following spring. The streets of the principal northern villages were patrolled during that fall and winter. On the 19th of December, 1864, Mr. Seward sent a dispatch to Minister Adams for Earl Russell, in which he aptly described the situation. He said: "While disappointment, disgust and regret on account of the escape of the felons at Montreal are expressed by the Canadian authorities, and while the expression is believed to be sincere, yet we have no authentic information that any proceedings have been taken to vindicate the so called neutrality of the British provinces, or prevent repetition of the injuries of which we complained, other than the unavailing renewed pursuit of the offenders out of one colony into another. This is the condition of affairs on the other side of the boundary.

On this side there has been intense feeling and energetic action. Congress has passed a law authorizing the building and equipment of six steam revenue cutters for service on the lakes.

The House of Representatives has passed and sent to the Senate, a bill which requests the President to give notice needful for bringing to an end the reciprocity treaty. Mr. Chandler, one of the Senators of Michigan in Congress, has submitted to the Senate resolutions of which a copy is hereto annexed. In submitting them, he discussed with severity and frankness the relations of the United States and the British Provinces. * * * * *

Thus it appears that owing to transactions, for which the United States believe themselves perfectly irresponsible, a crisis has been reached, which does not suffer American citizens living in, or near, the British border, to navigate the frontier lakes and rivers in safety.

Their treasure is not safe in their vaults, and their sleep is

disturbed by well-founded apprehensions of midnight fire, robbery and murderous aggressions, from the British border provinces. Our appeals and our remonstrances to Her Majesty's government have not gained for us any assurance of greater security in the future."

No doubt these fears and apprehensions were greatly enhanced by the fact that the attack on St. Albans had partially failed. The writer afterwards learned from one of the raiders that their plan was to fire the residence of Governor Smith, on the hill, at a distance, and while the inhabitants were rushing to the scene of conflagration, they designed to carry out their plans. This they feared might result in closing the banks, and as the marauders were "broke" they abandoned that idea.

A letter addressed to the Hon. J. P. Benjamin, rebel Secretary of State, Richmond, Va., dated St. Catharines, C. W., November 1st, 1864, and with the initial letters, "C. C. C., Jr.," on it, evidently written by C. C. Clay, Jr., was intercepted by Major-General Augur at Washington, D. C., November 12th, 1864. The bearer of it claimed to have been a detective of the United States, in Montreal, and as they wanted to engage him for the service, it would ill become his profession to refuse "a job." So he undertook it. This letter fully disclosed the design and extent of the raid. Mr. Clay says therein: "I met Mr. Young at Halifax, on my way here in May last. He showed me letters from men whom I knew by reputation to be true friends of State Rights and, therefore, of Southern independence, vouching for his integrity as a man, his purity as a Christian and his loyalty as a soldier of the South. After satisfying me that his heart was with us in our struggle, and that he had suffered imprisonment for many months as a soldier of the Confederate States of America, from which he had escaped, he developed his plans for retaliating some of the injuries and outrages inflicted upon the South.

I thought them feasible and fully warranted by the law of nations, and therefore recommended him and his plans to the Secretary of War. He was sent back by the Secretary of War with a commission as Second Lieutenant, to execute his plans and purposes, but to report to Hon. ———— and myself.

We prevented his achieving or attempting what I was sure he could have done, for reasons which may be fully explained hereafter. Finally, disappointed in his original purpose, and in all the subsequent enterprises projected, he proposed to return to the Confederate States via Halifax, but passing through the New England States and burning some towns, and robbing them of whatever he could *convert to the use of the Confederate Government*. This I approved as justifiable retaliation. He attempted to burn the town of St. Albans, Vermont, and would have succeeded but for the failure of the chemical preparations with which he was armed. Believing the town was already fired in several places, and must be destroyed, he then robbed the banks of all the funds he could find, amounting to more than two hundred thousand dollars.

That he was not prompted by selfish or mercenary motives, and that he did not intend to convert the funds taken to his own use, but to that of the Confederate States, I am as well satisfied as I am that he is an honest man, a true soldier and patriot, and no one who knows him will question his title to this character.

He assured me before going on the raid that his efforts would be to destroy towns and farm houses, not to plunder or rob; but he said, if, after firing a town, he saw he could take funds from a bank or any house, which might inflict injury on the enemy and benefit his own government, he would do so. He added most emphatically that whatever he took should be turned over to the government, or its representatives in foreign lands.

My instructions to him, oft repeated, were, 'to destroy whatever was valuable, not to stop to rob, but if, after firing a town he could seize and carry off money, treasury or bank notes, he might do so on condition that they were delivered to the proper authorities of the Confederate States.' That they were not delivered according to his promise and undertaking was owing, I am sure, to the failure of his chemical compound to fire the town, and to the capture of himself and men on Canadian soil, where they were surprised and overpowered by superior numbers from the United States. On showing me his commission

and his instructions from Mr. Siddon, which were of course vague and indefinite, he said he was authorized to do all the damage he could to the enemy in the way of retaliation."

As in the national struggle then going on, the loyal people of the north seldom failed to inflict blows as well as receive them, so in this raid the insurgents' raiders suffered injury. Ex-Governor Wescott, formerly Governor and U. S. Senator from Florida, now residing in Canada, who was of counsel for the raiders, furnished the writer with much valuable information as to the extent of suffering by the raiders while pursuing their attack on St. Albans. He said that one of the leaders who first suggested the idea of raids on northern frontier towns while at Camp Douglass, in Chicago, as a prisoner of war, was wounded in the back by a conical ball, and had to be supported by two of his companions riding on each side of him until they reached British soil. He was then concealed in the woods so as to prevent capture, and is said to have been attended professionally by Dr. J. S. Brigham, a southern sympathizer. This man was doubtless shot by Wilder Gilson, of St. Albans, who always insisted that as the raiders were riding out of town, he took deliberate aim with his favorite rifle, loaded with a conical ball, and as he fired his gun he saw one of the leaders on horse-back jump as if wounded, and immediately rode away. A holster, with a revolver, was found bearing marks of blood, which disclosed the fact that some one was severely wounded.

Another was wounded in the neck by a bullet passing near the jugular vein, and was captured, and during the first hearing for their extradition, wore a white handkerchief around his neck to conceal his wound as well as his guilt.

And another was slightly wounded—a flesh wound. And still another was so severely wounded that he afterwards died in Montreal, and was buried by his companions. This latter person, Gov. Wescott said, was so severely wounded that he stopped over night at a farm house within three miles of St. Albans, with a sympathizer, and the following night was conveyed into Canada by British subjects, and fully cared for until his death. Mr. Wescott also stated that several persons

who designed to have participated in the raid failed to reach St. Albans in time, and that as late as the evening of the following day he met one of them on board of one of the Lake Champlain steamers, who had in his possession, in a trunk, a quantity of "Greek-fire," which was afterwards, by his advice, thrown overboard to prevent detection and arrest.

There were also about fifty others who failed to "put in" an appearance in time, or who were skulking in the neighboring woods ready to participate until their courage failed them.

After receiving General Dix's dispatch, the pursuing party and others captured and assisted Canadian officials in capturing fourteen of the raiders and about \$86,000 of their booty. One of the gang immediately sent the following dispatch:

"GEORGE N. SANDERS, OTTAWA HOTEL, MONTREAL:

We are captured. Do what you can for us.

C. M. WALLACE."

Lieutenant Young, the leader, was recognized and captured by George Beals and E. D. Fuller, on Canadian soil. He expressed to his captors his regret that his party did not burn St. Albans, but they were so fast for plunder that they neglected to do so. Shortly thereafter Young wrote the following letter:

FRELIGHSBURGH, C. E., SATURDAY, OCT. 21.

To the Editor of the Evening Telegraph:

"Through the columns of your journal I wish to make some statements to the people of Canada, regarding the recent operations in Vermont. I went there for the purpose of burning the town and surrounding villages in retaliation for the recent outrages committed in the Shenandoah Valley, and elsewhere in the Confederate States. I am a commissioned officer of the Provisional Army of the Confederate States, and have violated no laws of Canada. I do not wish my name coupled with the epithets now applied without a knowledge on the part of the people of Canada, as to who we are and what caused our action. I wish, also, to make a few statements as to how myself and party were taken. I was seized on Canadian soil by American citizens with arms in their hands and violently

searched. My pocket-book was taken from me, and I was started towards the United States. I reached out my hand and caught the reins of my horse, when three pistols were leveled at my head, with threats to shoot the d——d scoundrel dead, if he moved. Some Canadian citizens then spoke up and the Americans, seeing the bailiff, started with me toward him, two of them holding arms in their hands. These statements can be proved by Canadian citizens. The Americans came into this place and even beyond it, brandishing guns and threatening to kill some of us even after we were in the hands of the English authorities. Surely the people of Vermont must have forgotten that the people of Canada are not in the midst of war, and ruled by a man despotic in his actions and supreme in his infamy. I am not afraid to go before the courts of Canada, and when the affair is investigated, I am satisfied that the citizens of Vermont, and not my party, will be found to be the violators of Canadian and English law. Some one, I hope, will be sent to investigate this breach of neutrality, and award to those American citizens doing armed duty in Canada, the just merit of their transgressions."

Hoping you will give this a publication,

I remain, Yours Respectfully,

BENNETT H. YOUNG.

First Lieutenant Provisional Army,
Confederate States of America.

Hon R. H. Hoyt, Alanson M. Clark, C. C. Burton, Marshal Mason, and many others from St. Albans, interviewed Lieutenant Young at Frelighsburg, and acquainted him with the fact that many widows and orphans would suffer in consequence of his depletion of the vaults of the banks at St. Albans. He retorted, by saying that that was all very nice talk when applied to the northern people, but that it had no significance with the northern armies then subjugating the south by means of fire, the sword and the musket.

He himself had suffered even more than the horrors of the battlefield. He had been bereft of his kin, and boastfully de-

clared, as also did George W. Sanders, at St. Johns, that this incursion was but the beginning of a series of attacks which would terrify the people of the northern border states, so that they would release the final grasp they then held at the neck of the rebellion.

These facts were testified to, substantially, by H. G. Edson Esq., at the military trial of the assassins of Abraham Lincoln, he having been of counsel for the U. S. Government and the banks, with Hon. Geo. F. Edmunds, the writer, and others, in the application for the extradition of the raiders.

"Their pursuers labored under many difficulties on account of the extreme friendliness of the Canadian constabulary and authorities. There were, however, some notable exceptions, where even proffered bribes of the raiders would not influence the higher sense of justice.

Mr. Whitman, a Magistrate of Stanbridge, an American by birth, but a naturalized British subject, was instrumental in capturing and saving about \$53,000 of moneys and securities, and acting under the advice of J. C. Baker Esq., not only held them, but transferred them into the hands of the Canadian authorities. Nearly all others were recreant and gave away to temptation.

One Anson Kemp, a Canadian official, received from Wallace a package containing \$10,000 of funds, which he retained. One Wells, a Bailiff, assisted in securing \$1500 in the shed of a hotel. One Manahan, a Lawyer, likewise secreted quite an amount. Afterwards Wallace and Swager were discharged as belligerents, and they returned to Frelighsburch and demanded the moneys they had left with the above officials, and which they had appropriated to their own use,—but when litigation became imminent, they each paid back to the raiders, instead of the real owners, the several amounts left with them, or portions of it. This appeared clearly from the testimony of Ambrose L. Hall and Charles O. Standish, who both resided at Frelighsburch at the time, and the latter acted as the bearer of dispatches from Lieut. Young to Clay and Sanders, at Montreal, on the night of the raid.

Search warrants and warrants for arrest were refused by the Canadian Magistrates with one or two exceptions, and especially by Mr. Kemp, the Magistrate at Frelighsburg, who claimed that he had no power under Canadian laws to issue even a search warrant, after an affidavit had been filed upon which to base its issuance. This and similar obstacles, of course, rendered the further pursuit and capture of men and money almost impossible, although such offenders as had been captured were held to await application for extradition, under the 10th Article of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842.

Mr. Seward, on the 21st of October, 1864, demanded, under that treaty, the extradition of the fugitives, and the surrender of the money and securities, but the subsequent conduct of British officials will show clearly the prevailing sympathy, if not corruption, of some of the officials.

Prior to 1861, Justices of the Peace had jurisdiction in such cases, but the celebrated Anderson case, that of a negro from Missouri who shot his master while the latter was brutally pursuing him, involved such complications, that Parliament in 1861 gave such jurisdiction exclusively to judges of a court of record. Hence Lord Monck directed Charles J. Coursol, a Police Judge of Montreal, to proceed to Stanbridge and take the prisoners into custody and try them on such application, which he did, taking them out of the jurisdiction of the Justices. He accordingly removed the prisoners to St. Johns, where they were placed in jail. They were arraigned before him, and as the preliminary affidavits were being drawn up, the magistrates were ordered to deliver over the money and securities they held, into the hands of one Guillian LaMothe, then a chief of police of Montreal.

The writer, as counsel for the several banks, protested against such transfer, when Judge Coursol exhibited to him a despatch directing him to appoint an agent to receive those funds, to be used as evidence on behalf of the government in their application for their extradition, which made the Canadian Government liable for their safe-keeping.

After the completion of the affidavits, and the issuance of the necessary warrants, rumors of contemplated raids from

the United States, for the pretended purpose of kidnapping the raiders, were started by their friends. This was a ruse, started for the purpose of getting an order from the governor or the attorney-general of Canada to remove the prisoners to Montreal, where they could find more congenial spirits, in the persons of their relatives, acquaintances and sympathizers, of both sexes. They were accordingly ordered to be removed, against the protest of some of the sufferers, and as they entered the city of Montreal, they were greeted by the congratulations of their friends and the huzzahs of the multitude.

A company of artillery accompanied them from the depot to prison, which served the double purpose of an escort for the raiders, and an assurance of fidelity to the interests of the United States. The display was a fine one, and gave universal satisfaction. At the prison they were warmly received. Their apartments were furnished with all the modern hotel improvements on "the European plan."

Their dinners were served with "bills of fare," not omitting "the wine list," by competent attendants, such as would grace the table of a prince. Lieut. Young facetiously refers to it in the following characteristic letter:

"MONTREAL, Nov. 17, 1864.

To the Editor of the St. Albans Messenger—

Would you please send me two copies of your daily. During the present investigation, your editorials are quite interesting, and will furnish considerable amusement to myself and comrades. You are somewhat abusive, but I am sufficiently magnanimous to overlook your ire, feeling that in after years you will do me the justice to repair the wrong.

I am extremely sorry that I cannot visit your town and subscribe for your valuable journal in person. My business engagements in Montreal prevent my coming at present. Address me care 'Montreal jail.' Should you not send me the papers, I hope you will remit enclosed bill by return mail. Should you visit Montreal in the next few weeks, I will be found at Payette's Hotel, (the jail,) and will be grateful to see you.

Yours Respectfully,

BENNETT H. YOUNG.

First Lieut. Provisional
Army Confederate States."

Accompanying the foregoing letter was a three-dollar St. Albans bank bill, which, it was found, did not come into his possession honestly. The tone of this letter was in wide contrast with Young's professions in 1861, when he was a theological student at Toronto, Canada West.

Here litigation and technicality began, and writs of *habeas corpus* were invoked. Here treachery and bribery insidiously crept in and exhibited themselves.

On the day following the raid, when Judge Coursol was applied to as the commander of the Militia in the district of Montreal, which embraced the Southern frontier of Canada bordering on Vermont, and which included the police and detective forces therein, he assured Hon. A. O. Aldis and a cashier of one of the banks, that he knew of a man who would secure the extradition of the raiders without question for the sum of \$10,000. The keen perception of these gentlemen was not slow in detecting that the British Judge himself was the person. Judge Aldis at once replied that the banks had offered a reward of \$10,000 for the surrender of the men and securities, payable on their conviction, or the delivery of the funds. Hence this British Judge, as he was pleased to call himself, half French and apparently half Aborigenes, exhibited great zeal at the first hearing, which lasted several days after the raid, and down to the 13th of November 1864, when a continuance of thirty days was asked for by the counsel for the prisoners and granted. Two bearers of dispatches were immediately separately sent from Montreal to Richmond, Va., for the purpose of getting record evidence of the appointment of Lieut. Young by Jefferson Davis, to undertake the raid. One of them was captured by General Augur, on the 12th of November, 1864, and the other, S. F. Cameron, a Chaplain in the Confederate service, ran the Union lines and entered Richmond in safety. While crossing the Potomac river below Washington, on the route, their small boat was capsized by a shot from a Union battery on the banks of the river, and one of the party drowned. Cameron, however, reached shore and passed through St. Albans in the character and habiliments of a Roman Catholic Priest, accompanied by two women dressed in

the robes of nuns. This so eluded the vigilance of the detectives that they passed into Canada unsearched. Mr. Cameron has since written a book entitled, 'The Confederate Secret Service,' which was widely circulated at the South, similar to "Baker's Secret Service."

During the interim of adjournments, counsel for the prisoners were busily engaged in their efforts to find grounds to secure their release. Judge Coursol and Edward Carter had been appointed by Attorney-General George E. Cartier to prepare the warrants upon which the prisoners were held. These warrants were said to have been defective, and hence illegal, and this fact was well known to the law officers of the Canadian Government before the final hearing. Mr. Carter, however, disclosed their defects to Mr. Kerr, of counsel for the prisoners, who was his brother-in-law. Accordingly, Mr. Kerr, on the 13th of December, 1864, the day on which the case stood adjourned, and before a portion of the counsel of the United States and the banks had arrived, moved before Judge Coursol that the prisoners be discharged on account of these defects. Whereupon Judge Coursol, in a very precipitate manner, after delivering a lengthy opinion—which could not have been prepared by him in the short time allotted him for that purpose—not only discharged the prisoners for the particular offence on which he had had a hearing, but likewise on five other separate offences and warrants upon which no hearings had been had, and ordered the money and securities captured from them, and in the custody of the law, restored to their agent, for which written orders had previously been prepared and held in readiness.

The writer was the only person present in the court-room from Vermont, at the time—others having been detained by a storm, and the scene in the court-room which followed their discharge was a disgrace to any court of justice. The final announcement of their discharge was attended with rounds of applause and screams never before heard or known in a court of justice, in which all seemed to participate. Then there was a rush for the doors and streets, and the news spread through the city and country with great celerity.

Hon. John Rose, of counsel for the United States, then one of the Canadian ministers, protested against such conduct. Hon. Barney Develin followed him, by warning the Canadians that such a course would be denounced by the United States with great severity, and would prove detrimental to the provinces. Counsel from the United States could only express their opinions outside of the court room, as they were not permitted at any time to address the court, because they had not been admitted to the Canadian bar and adopted the customary "robes and choker." Hon. Geo. F. Edmunds was inquired of if he designed to return to Montreal in the event of the recapture of any of the men to ask for their extradition. He quickly replied that "if he did it would be at the head of a regiment."

Mr. Seward, in his letter to Minister Adams, under date of December 24th, 1864, fitly describes what followed. He says:

"In my dispatch of the 14th inst. I informed you that Coursol, the Provincial Judge at Montreal, had set at liberty the fellows who committed the crimes of robbery and murder at St. Albans. Subsequent information comprises the fact, with the addition that the money stolen, to the amount, as it is understood, of ninety thousand dollars, which was in the custody of the law, was delivered to the felons by the police, under the direction of the same judge, and that thus richly furnished with the spoils of our citizens, they were conveyed, amid popular acclamation, in sleighs which had been prepared for their escape, from the court-room, beyond the reach of fresh pursuit: that the discharge of the prisoners was placed upon technical grounds, now confessed to be erroneous, equally in law and in fact; that when new warrants were issued, the police were dilatory and treacherous in their execution, and that all efforts for the recapture of the culprits have thus far been unsuccessful. It is believed that they have already escaped from Canada to find even more sure protection and favor in Nova Scotia. It is impossible to consider those proceedings as either legal, just, or friendly towards the United States."

Mr. Richie, the partner of the Hon. John Rose, in company with the writer, immediately prepared fresh affidavits and

warrants for the arrest of the fugitives, and, after applying to two of the judges of the Superior Court of Canada to sign a warrant for that purpose, and receiving direct refusals, finally succeeded in prevailing upon Judge James Smith, another Superior Judge, to sign a warrant. Mr. Richie and Hon. Geo. F. Edmunds then applied to Mr. Lamothe, chief of police, to execute the warrant, but he declined and likewise declined to permit any one of his numerous police force to execute the same. Finally, at a late hour that night, the High Sheriff of Montreal was prevailed upon to take the warrants, and, after several days' pursuit by a faithful government policeman, Mr. McLaughlin, five of the number were recaptured; namely, Young, Travis, Spurr, Hutchinson and Swager, who, after a protracted hearing, were discharged by Judge Smith, on the ground that they were belligerents against the United States, and that their doings at St. Albans were acts of war, and were consequently excepted out of the operations of the extradition treaty. He, however, held as a matter of law, that Judge Coursol erred in the precipitate and unwarranted manner in which he ordered the discharge of the prisoners and the surrender of the funds to them.

Judge Coursol was, at that time, suspected and publicly accused of complicity with the raiders, and subsequent events strengthened these suspicions. He was summoned to appear before the police committee of the city council of Montreal, and there declined to answer interrogatories relating to his malfeasance in office, as beneath the dignity of a British Judge. He, however, was forced to admit that he had been in company with Sanders and one John Porterfield, the financial agent of the Confederate States in Canada. Afterwards it was rumored, and not denied, that a large sum of money was paid this British Judge by a Southern refugee, then sojourning in Canada, who shortly thereafter left the Provinces, not to return again. This judge was suspended from office in consequence of his conduct in the matter. The Hon. H. W. Torrence was appointed a commissioner by Lord Monck to inquire into the conduct of Mr. Lamothe and Judge Coursol, and made an elaborate report to the government. This com-

missioner reported that Judge Coursol was indictable for a "malfeasance in his functions," as a justice, in having discharged the prisoners on the 13th of December, 1864, and Mr. Lamothe was discharged from the office of chief of police.

Notwithstanding his extraordinary conduct, Judge Coursol was restored to his position as Judge on the 9th of April, 1866, by order of Sir George E. Cartier, Attorney General, and has been several times elected mayor of Montreal, and, on one occasion, entertained the Editorial Fraternity of New England with great magnificence at his palatial residence in Montreal.

The witnesses, on behalf of the United States, were many times sneered and jeered at, while on the streets, in the court room, and even on the witness stand in court, by women sympathizers with the Confederate cause, of whom there were large numbers in attendance, frequently evincing the bold and dashing characteristics of Southern chivalry.

Shortly after this time, Lord Monck suggested to the sufferers at St. Albans, that, if memorialized, he would recommend an appropriation to pay the amount of money and securities so wrongfully given up by order of Coursol and Lamothe. This was done, and in April, 1865, \$19,000 in gold was paid to the First National Bank; \$20,000 to the St. Albans Bank; and \$31,000 in the bills of the Franklin County Bank, returned to that Bank, said to have been purchased by an agent of the Canadian Government, at ten cents on the dollar. For this act the Canadians have frequently boasted of their magnanimity, and not unfrequently claiming that they had paid the entire loss by the raid, of which this was a mere small proportion.

The names of these marauders, as given by themselves, on their examination, were as follows: Bennett H. Young, Samuel Eugene Lackey, Squire Turner Travis, Alexander Pope Bruce, Charles Moore Swager, Caleb McDonald Wallace, James Alexander Doty, Joseph McGrorty, Samuel Simpson Gregg, Dudley Moore, Thomas Bronsden Collins, George Scott and William H. Hutchinson.

They were young men of apparent education, culture and gentlemanly urbanity. They were mostly from the State of

Kentucky—were soldiers in the Confederate service, principally from Mosby's and Morgan's guerilla bands, and a few Sundays before their raid on St. Albans had attended church in that village, and occupied the pews of men whom they afterwards sought to destroy. Some of them had been captured and held as prisoners of war in northern prisons, and by strategy had escaped into Canada as an asylum. They each of them made a voluntary statement at their examination. One of these will suffice to show the motives which actuated them in making the raid.

Thomas Bronsdon Collins says: I have violated no laws of Canada or Great Britain. Whatever I may have done at St. Albans, I did as a Confederate officer, acting under Lieutenant Young. When I left St. Albans, I came to Canada solely for protection. I entered a hotel at Stanbridge unarmed and alone and was arrested and handcuffed by a Canadian magistrate, (Whitman,) assisted by Yankees. He had no warrant for my arrest, nor had any sworn complaint been made to him against me. About \$9,300 was taken from me when arrested, part Confederate booty, lawfully captured and held by me as such, and part of my own private funds.

I asked the restoration of the money taken from me, and my discharge, as demanded by the rules of international law. The treaty under which my extradition is claimed applies to robbers, murderers, thieves and forgers. I am neither, but a soldier, serving my country in a war commenced and waged against us by a barbarous foe, in violation of their own constitution, in disregard of all the rules of warfare as interpreted by civilized nations and Christian people and against Yankees too wise to expose themselves to danger, while they can buy mercenaries and steal negroes to fight their battles for them, who, whilst prating of neutrality, seduce your own people along the borders to violate the proclamation of your august Sovereign by joining their armies, and leave them when captured by us to languish as prisoners in a climate unwholesome to them. If I aided in the sack of the St. Albans banks, it was because they were public institutions, and because I knew the pocket nerve of the Yankees to be the most sensitive, that they

would suffer most by being rudely touched. I cared nothing for the booty, except to injure the enemies of my country. Federal soldiers are bought up at \$1,000 a head, and the capture of \$200,000 is equivalent to the destruction of two hundred of said soldiers. I therefore thought the expedition 'would pay'; I guess it did, in view of the facts; also, that they have wisely sent several thousand soldiers from the 'bloody front' to protect exposed points in the rear. For the part I took I am ready to abide the consequences, knowing that if I am extradited to the Yankee butchers, my government can avenge, if not protect its soldiers."

At the April term, 1865, of the Franklin County Court of Vermont, the Grand Jury found true bills of indictment against the above named parties, as well as against one Hezekiah Payne, for murder, attempt at murder and arson, alleged to have been committed at St. Albans at the time of the raid. A reward had been offered for the apprehension and conviction of any of the alleged felons, which resulted in the arrest of Payne at Detroit, Michigan, by one Captain Smith, a Southerner by birth, and formerly a captain in the Confederate army. Captain Smith was employed by Colonel Hill at Detroit, with instructions to report at Colonel Hill's headquarters. This captain assumed the character of a Southern refugee and was assigned to duty by the government at Windsor, Canada West, directly opposite Detroit. Here the government placed him in charge of a hotel, in which he assumed to be landlord, and he had among his guests from sixty to ninety regular boarders, nearly all Southern refugees, who little suspected at the time that they were boarding with a United States Government detective, and who was daily reporting their sayings and doings in secret conclave to Colonel Hill. Mr. Payne was one of his constant boarders during the winter of 1864-5, and boastingly declared fully his connection with the St. Albans raid to Captain Smith and others of the band. Colonel Hill accordingly placed a female detective on Payne's track, who by her charms induced the latter to escort her to a theatre in Detroit on an evening. They accordingly embarked on board of the ferry boat, and as Payne

stepped from the boat upon the wharf, he was arrested by a United States Marshal, apparently very much to the chagrin and disgust of his fair companion. A search was at once instituted, and bills on one of the St. Albans banks were found concealed in the lining of his coat. He was conveyed to St. Albans and tried for the offences for which he had been indicted by a county court and jury, presided over by Chief Justice John Pierpoint, in June, 1865. He was identified in court by nearly half a dozen witnesses residing in St. Albans; among them was the Rev. Francis W. Smith, who had no doubt as to his being the identical person who presented a revolver while on horseback, at one Nettleton, in the streets of St. Albans on the day of the raid, and compelled the latter to deliver to him his cap, as he had lost his own in the affray when he rode off towards Canada. On the other hand, the respondent introduced testimony to prove an apparent alibi, of the most positive character, that on the morning of the day following the raid, at about 8½ o'clock, the prisoner was at a broker's office in Montreal, in company with a number of Southerners. This testimony left grounds for a reasonable doubt in the minds of the jury, and Payne was acquitted. A prominent Southerner afterwards informed the writer, in Montreal, that Payne participated in the St. Albans raid, and by dint of good luck reached Montreal the following morning at six o'clock, and delivered his booty to the Confederate treasury at that place. It thus appeared that all of the witnesses told the truth, but that the length of time which it would take to travel from St. Albans to Montreal, distant about sixty miles, over fearfully bad roads, was lost sight of, or not duly considered by the prosecution and the jury. Payne having been tried once, could not again be placed in jeopardy. He was supposed by many to have been a near relative of Lewis Payne, the assailant of Secretary Seward and his son Frederick, on the night of the assassination of President Lincoln, and whose diabolical plans were in part frustrated by the timely interference of George T. Robinson, a disabled Union soldier, a private in the 8th Maine Volunteers, in the employ of Mr. Seward as a nurse at that time. This latter Payne was tried

and hung by the side of Mrs. Mary E. Surratt, in the old Penitentiary jail yard in Washington, D. C., by order of a military court who tried all of the conspirators on the 9th of July, 1865, presided over by General Hancock.

Many of the St. Albans raiders are now residing in the United States, and the writer has frequently received communications from loyal persons in different parts of the country apprising him of their whereabouts, but the amnesty acts of Congress would doubtless fully acquit them, if our courts should stand to the decisions of the British courts, sanctioned by the Court of Queen's Bench in England, wherein they have said that "though the Confederate States are not recognized as independent, they are recognized as a belligerent power, and there can be no doubt that parties acting in their behalf would not be criminally responsible."

In June 1872, the writer addressed a letter to Bennett H. Young, then a lawyer at Louisville, Kentucky, calling for certain supposed facts connected with the raid, reminding him that while in Montreal at the time of his discharge, he had given assurances of assistance to the widow and children of Mr. Morrison, on account of his proclivities. A respectful reply was made but no assistance was rendered.

Shortly thereafter, it was rumored that he had died, but it is believed that this was done for the purpose of preventing further inquiry. He had abandoned his theological studies and had married the daughter of a Presbyterian Clergyman, to whom he had evidently assigned the care of his religion.

The writer has also been credibly informed that Swager escaped into France from Canada after his discharge, and under an assumed name became a diplomatic or consular agent of the United States at, or near Paris, and remained such until his true character was afterwards made known to the government, when he was summarily discharged. He afterwards enlisted as a soldier in the French army, and at the siege of Paris by the Prussians, during the Franco-Prussian war of 1871, was mortally wounded and died at Paris, in France, and his remains were brought to the United States for interment.

The conduct of the Canadian Government, or officials, in relation to the United States, up to this time, had the appearance of indifference to the rights of the latter. It was, however, in keeping with the position taken by the British Government in relation to the war.

The latter had by proclamation of the Queen declared the Confederates belligerents, before they had received intelligence that a battle had been fought. They had likewise permitted the Lairds to build cruisers or privateers, on their territories, and to escape their ports and waters, with a full armament on board, after our government had notified them officially of the manifest purposes of the owners of the vessels, for which they were compelled to pay \$15,000,000 compensation by the award of the Geneva Arbitration. The conduct of Chief Justice Cockburn, the British Arbitrator, in delivering a dissenting opinion, betrayed the feelings of that Government.

He manifested much feeling, and considerable passion. He at first undertook to surprise our counsel by calling on them for an oral discussion of the question as to what would constitute due diligence under the Washington treaty, knowing that two or three of the arbitrators could not understand English when spoken.

Much to his surprise, Hon. William M. Evarts discussed the question in English, and was repeatedly interrupted by the Chief Justice, and following him, the Hon. Caleb Cushing argued the question in an able and exhaustive argument in the French language, so that the arbitrators were fully informed on the subject, the French language being somewhat of a court language in Europe. After the Chief Justice had read his opinion, he hastily threw it on the table, and abruptly left the room, and the city of Geneva, and did not participate in the general rejoicings and displays over the successful establishment of a precedent for the settlement of national differences, by national arbitration, rather than by the arbitrament of war.

Mr. Cushing afterwards wrote a book on the subject of the arbitration at Geneva, in which he was pleased to call the Chief Justice of England, *en enfant terrible*, which excited much comment and correspondence in diplomatic circles.

The circumstances connected with the St. Albans raid were fully discussed at Geneva, as the principles of law were supposed to be analagous, by writers on international law, whether the expedition was fitted out and pursued by land or by water. Hence, under the 12th section of the treaty of Washington, a "mixed commission on American and British claims," was constituted and organized, for the purpose, in part, of considering and adjusting "kindred claims" to those of the "Alabama claims." This, of course, resulted in a number of claims being presented by the sufferers by the St. Albans raid, and important developments being made, tending to implicate the Canadian officials with that raid, and, particularly, as tending to show that the raid was organized on Canadian soil as a part of a great conspiracy, and that some of those officials had knowledge of it before it occurred.

The extensive correspondence of Mr. Seward, with Lord Lyons and Earl Russell, fully disclosed the fact of contemplated raids from Canada, and the active movements of the insurgents on Canadian soil in 1863, and the early part of 1864, and the apparent indifference of the Canadian Government in relation to the same. This state of things, followed by the St. Albans raid, led to the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty, then existing between the two countries, and the enforcement, for a time, of a rigid passport system along the frontier. It also contributed towards making a case against the British Government for breaches of neutrality, and asking compensation therefor. An effort was made, by certain parties who had suffered by land and water, to make a case, in many respects similar to the claims filed by our Government against Great Britain, but making British subjects the sufferers: and hence sprang up the Fenian raids on Canada—the one occurring under Generals Spear and Sweeney, in the years 1866, and the other under General O'Neil in the latter part of May, and fore part of June, 1870, with their headquarters at St. Alban. These raids, however, though one of them resulted in a short battle at St. Armand, eighteen miles north of St. Albans, on Canadian soil, lacked the important element of belligerency in order to constitute a similarity. In one of the communica-

tions, by Mr. Seward to Minister Adams, on the subject, the former asked the opinion of the latter as to the propriety of making up a similar case with a view to the settlement of the question of compensation, by American citizens. The latter wisely replied that, by so doing, it would be an acknowledgment that the British Government were right in their course; and that was an end of the subject.

The St. Albans raid would never have been thought of but for the conviction that Canada was so friendly with the South and so inimical to the North that the raiders would be safe, whatever atrocities they might commit, if they could only jump back across the line—and no wonder they arrived at this conclusion. Vallandigham—the arch traitor—had been feted, and free-passed through Canada, and received by some of the members of the Government of Quebec. Confederate officers and soldiers had been conveyed to the boat, in which they were departing—doubtless for aggressive movements on the North—by one of the regimental bands of the British army in Canada. A considerable portion of the Canadian press continued, day after day, to manifest bitter hatred for the North, and was supported, in so doing, by a considerable proportion of their most influential men. British unfriendliness made a conspicuous figure in the discussions at Geneva, and was justly regarded by the Arbitrators there as a fact proven, and of vital importance.

The speeches of Lord Palmerston and the Earl Russell, cited at Geneva, and which have become historical, and the unfriendly tone of the London press were re-produced in the "Montreal Gazette," and found their echo in nearly every village newspaper in Canada. "When all this was going on," says the "Montreal Witness" of the 22d of October, 1864, "before the eyes of Southern refugees, they could come to no other conclusion than they arrived at, that Canada was a safe base of operations against the North." It was this popular sympathy that Count Sclopis, the great Italian jurist and the chairman of the board of Arbitrators at Geneva, alluded to with such felicity and force of argument in his opinion at Geneva. He said: "No government is safe against certain

waves of public opinion which it cannot master at its will. I am far from thinking that the *animus* of the English Government was hostile to the Federal Government during the war. Yet there were grave dangers for the United States in Great Britain and her colonies, which there were no direct means of averting. England, therefore, should have fulfilled her duties as a neutral, by the exercise of a diligence equal to the gravity of the danger. It cannot be denied that there were moments when its watchfulness seemed to fail, and when feebleness in certain branches of the public service resulted in great detriment to the United States. The consequence of such feebleness can be no other than a reparation for the damages suffered."

The evidence abundantly proved that this "feebleness" existed in Canada till after the St. Albans raid. Then the government seemed to arouse to its dangers and duties. But it took some time for "the waves" of popular feeling to subside. Even after the raid, and the reaction consequent upon its outrages, C. C. Clay Jr., in his intercepted letter, said: "The sympathy of nine tenths of the Canadians are with Young and his men, and a majority of all the newspapers justify or excuse his acts as merely retaliatory." Indeed, even after the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, many of the Southerners in Montreal were permitted on receiving the intelligence of his assassination to celebrate the event by a general carousal. John H. Surratt, one of the conspirators, was in Montreal, at St. Lawrence Hall, on the 6th of April, 1865, and was telegraphed by John Wilkes Booth to come to Washington, D. C., on the 10th of April, 1865, and he paid his bill at St. Lawrence Hall, and left on the 12th of April, having registered his name as "John Harrison," on the Hotel Register, as appears by "The trial of John H. Surratt," Vol. I. page 166. He returned to Montreal via St. Albans, on Tuesday morning, the 18th of April, 1865, and again registered his name as "John Harrison," on the St. Lawrence Hall Register, and immediately learning that parties were in pursuit of him to secure a reward, he was secreted in the house of John Portertfield, and was shortly afterwards taken into the country, and secreted in the house of a Roman Catholic Priest, where he remained until

he sailed to Liverpool, and thence proceeded to Alexandria, in Egypt, where he was arrested and brought to the United States for trial. While passing through St. Albans, he was suspected by William R. Conger, Albert Sowles and the writer, who were witnesses at his trial. Carl Hobart, Charles H. Blinn, and George F. Chapin likewise identified him in open court as the person whom they saw at Burlington and St. Albans, on the night of the 17th, and morning of the 18th of April, 1865, *en route* for Montreal. William E. Wheeler testified that in October, 1864, he saw J. Wilkes Booth in Montreal, in front of St. Lawrence Hall, in company with a person answering the description of Sanders. (See Trial of John H. Surratt, Vol. I, p. 315.) In March and April, 1865, it was established beyond question, that Booth was in Montreal, in company with Sanders. F. Geriken testified that he saw him in Sanders' room, at St. Lawrence Hall, in secret conversation. The following appears on page 478, History of Secret Service, by Baker. "About this time, certain gentlemen in Canada began to be unenviably known. I make no charges against those whom I do not know, but simply say that the Confederate agents, Jacob Thompson, Larry McDonald, Clement Clay, and some others, had already accomplished enough villainy to make Wilkes Booth, on the first of the present year, believe that he had but to seek an interview with them. He visited the provinces once, certainly, and three times, it is believed, stopping in Montreal, at St. Lawrence Hall, and banking four hundred and fifty-five dollars odd at the Ontario Bank. This was his own money. I have, myself, seen his bank-book with the single entry of this amount. It was found in the room of Atzeroth at Kirkwood's Hotel. Some one, or all of these agents, furnished Booth with a murderer—the fellow Wood, or Payne, who stabbed Mr. Seward, and was caught at Mrs. Surratt's house in Washington. He was one of the three Kentucky brothers, all outlaws, and had, himself, it is believed, accompanied one of his brothers; who is known to have been at St. Albans on the day of the bank delivery. This Payne, besides being positively identified as the assassin of the Swards, had no friends nor haunts in

Washington. He was simply a dispatched murderer, and after the night of the crime, struck northward for the frontier, instead of southward, in the company of Booth."

A reward of \$20,000 for Sanders and \$25,000 for Thompson was offered by the United States Government for their apprehension and conviction, on account of this conspiracy. An attempt was made to kidnap Sanders, but he was rescued by the authorities of Canada.

From the letter of Jacob Thompson to Mr. Benjamin, Secretary of State of the Confederacy, obtained from the rebel archives, now in the hands of the U. S. Government, it appears "that he and C. C. Clay Jr., were sent early in 1864, to Canada, by the Confederate Government, as political agents, armed with the largest powers; that they took with them \$600,000 of Confederate funds in gold; that he, (Thompson,) knew nothing of the details of the St. Albans raid, but Clay ordered it and furnished the money for it."

These uncontrovertible facts leave no doubt of a conspiracy covering all the overt acts afterwards committed, through the procurement of those political agents, with Confederate money, fully organized, and proceeding from Canada to St. Albans, Washington and other places. Lieut. Young was appointed on the 16th of June, 1864, by Jefferson Davis, through the Confederate Secretary of War, First Lieutenant for special service, and this order given him: "You will proceed without delay to the British Provinces, where you will report to Messrs. Thompson and Clay for instructions."

On the 6th of October, 1864, Young received the following order from C. C. Clay Jr., who was then in Montreal: "Your suggestion for a raid upon accessible towns in Vermont, commencing with St. Albans, is approved, and you are authorized and required to act in conformity with that suggestion.

Oct. 6th, 1864.

C. C. CLAY JR."

Indeed, Judge Smith, in his opinion delivered in the St. Albans case, says: "While at St. Catherines, Young reported his doings to Mr. Clay, and obtained his sanction, both verbal and written, of the projected attack. While in Montreal, in

October, he received from Mr. Clay \$400 towards the expenses of the expedition."

It was also a significant fact that there was no neutrality law in Canada till February, 1865. The act of Parliament of 1861 had re-enacted the old act, giving force to the treaty, with numerous amendments. This act, as amended, never had received Royal sanction until the above date, and, hence, it had been nugatory until sanctioned. This the raiders knew, and relied upon it. They had taken counsel as to the law of extradition, and claimed at once that they were "belligerents, not robbers."

At a very early date in 1862, the attention of the British Government was called to the inadequacy of their laws to prevent hostile expeditions and to preserve neutrality. It was in reference to these requests that Lord Palmerston made his memorable speech of March 27th, 1863, in which he spoke of them as follows: "A cry raised against England to create political capital in America. But if this cry is raised for the purpose of driving Her Majesty's Government to do something which may be contrary to the laws of the country, or which may be derogatory to the dignity of the country in the way of altering our laws for the purpose of pleasing another government, then all I can say is that such a course is not likely to accomplish its purposes."

On the 15th of December, 1864, Lord Monck wrote to Mr. Cardwell, British Foreign Secretary, as follows: "I should be armed with some further statutory powers to enable me to restrain persons who seek an asylum in Canada from the commission of acts calculated to compromise the neutrality of Her Majesty's Dominions." This is a direct admission of a remissness of duty and a want of due diligence in preventing the raid on St. Albans. Indeed, some of the government officials in Canada must have known of this raid before its occurrence. F. Gerekin, impressed as a witness by Great Britain, who resided at St. Lawrence Hall in Montreal, said on cross-examination: "There were a great number of Southerners stopping at the St. Lawrence Hall, between 1862 and 1865. They conversed freely in my presence. I heard them talking

about poisoning the aqueduct of New York City, 'of setting fire to their cities when they least expected it,' that they would 'rescue the prisoners from Johnson's Island, and bring them to Canada.' Heard them say that something ought to be attempted at Ogdensburg, N. Y."

Judge Coursol said to Judge Aldis and Albert Sowles, on the morning after the raid: "That these Southerners had been about the city of Montreal in large numbers for a long time, contemplating or getting up these raids, and that, if proper measures had been taken, their plans could have been found out and frustrated."

Mr. Lamothe says: "After the Johnson's Island affair, and before the St. Albans raid, the Southern refugees appeared to be acting together in concert, and to be fully organized in Canada, and their organization, their purpose and intention of committing acts of forcible depredations, rapine and war upon the territory of the United States, must have been known to the Cartier-McDonald government; * * * * * that if there had been any steps taken by said government of Cartier-McDonald to prevent the same, the said raid on St. Albans might and would have been prevented, and would not have occurred."

Col. Wm. A. Armatinger, next in command of the militia in the district of Montreal, under Coursol, thus declared to one Jacob Rynders, a Canadian detective, before the St. Albans raid, as testified to by him: "We know all about the contemplated raids; let them go on and have a fight on the frontier; it is none of our business; we can lose nothing by it. It does not interfere with us. There are so many Confederate soldiers here in Montreal, we expect a fight every day, and we shall not interfere with it."

Rynders further testified, "I have no doubt Col. Armatinger knew the exact point at which Southern soldiers designed to make their attack at the time, which afterwards proved to be St. Albans, Vermont. He appeared to know all about it. He was frequently in communication with the Southern soldiers, and they were on intimate terms."

It was fully established, that in November, 1863, Mr. La-

Mothe, Chief of Police, detected the raid on Johnson's Island, in the Lachine Canal, and by direction of Hon. L. H. Holton, then Finance Minister, put a stop to it. There was a change of Government in March following, and LaMothe was refused compensation for his services. He, therefore, declined to perform subsequent services in that direction, and there were no detectives used or employed for that purpose before the St. Albans raid.

Lord Monck, Governor General, Sir John A. McDonald, Prime Minister, Sir George E. Cartier, Attorney General, Hon. H. D. Longueveau, Solicitor General, and others, were impressed as witnesses by Great Britain, who all testified that they had no personal knowledge of the St. Albans raid before its occurrence, although they were fully informed of the general objects and purposes of these insurgents in Canada.

These facts, with many other minor details, were submitted to the Mixed Commission on American and British claims, composed of Count L. Coati, Italian Minister at Washington, as Umpire, James S. Frazer, of Indiana, Commissioner for the United States, and Russell Gurney, Recorder of London, England, Commissioner for Great Britain, through Hon. Robert S. Hale, Agent for the United States, who, on the 19th of August, 1873, disallowed compensation.

Commissioner Frazer read an opinion, in which I am advised that the majority of the Commission concurred, which was in part as follows: "I may not be prepared to say that Great Britain used that diligence to prevent hostile expeditions from Canada against the United States, which should be exercised by a neutral and friendly neighbor, but in the view which I take of these claims, this question is not important, and need not therefore be decided. * * * I think, rather, it was because no care which one nation may reasonably require of another in such cases would have been sufficient to discover it." Indeed, the decision must have been placed upon the ground that direct knowledge of this particular raid must have been communicated to the Canadian or British Government, before its occurrence, and they have failed to stop it, in order to charge such Government

with liability, and that otherwise neutrals can permit belligerents from their territories, as a base of operations, to let loose their "war dogs" on a peaceful, quiet, frontier village, pillaging their banking houses, firing their houses, and murdering their citizens, far removed from the scenes of rebellion, which their government was taxing all its energies and resources, to suppress, and when such neutrals are called upon to enact "more stringent laws," to protect the other belligerent, or make reparation for their negligence, it is not surprising that they should "hesitate, discuss, delay and refrain."

In conclusion, I beg to say that the facts and circumstances connected with this raid became generally known throughout the civilized world; that Secretary Stanton afterwards, in conversation with the writer, declared it to be one of the important events of the war, not so much as transferring in part the scenes and horrors of war, to a peaceful, loyal State, but as leading to serious and dangerous complications with Great Britain, through the desires and efforts of the Southern people to involve Canada, and through her, Britain, in a war on behalf of their Southern friends.

And I doubt not that every intelligent Vermonter must fully realize that history must and will give these events that prominence and importance they deserve.

They will remember, that in history, the conspiracies to assassinate Egdon, the King of Moab, resulting in his destruction; and that of Morat, the French Revolutionary Leader, sharing the same fate; and the gun-powder conspiracy, under the leadership of Guy Fawkes, to blow up and destroy, the English Parliament, seasonably discovered and frustrated, though of no greater scope and importance in their results, have each been given a record in history, which will perpetuate them throughout all its annals. It may not be presumptuous, then, to conjecture that this conspiracy, though its details are not fully known, will yet be ranked in importance, as one of the greatest conspiracies ever known, to subvert and destroy a government, save only that successful conspiracy to destroy Caesar, the Emperor of Rome, of which Brutus was the leader, and that greater and unsuccessful one, of Jefferson Davis and his coadjutors in the great rebellion of 1861. Caesar's bloody garment threw Rome again into slavery, but all the machinations of slavery-conspirators, of which this raid was a prominent one, could not undermine or destroy the foundations of this great Republic.

Partridge

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
VERMONT
HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

OCTOBER 15, 1878.



MONTPELIER:
J. & J. M. POLAND, OFFICIAL STATE PRINTERS.
1878.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives :

That the Secretary of the Senate be instructed to procure the printing of two thousand copies of the proceedings and addresses delivered before the Vermont Historical Society and General Assembly, on the 15th inst., by President M. H. BUCKHAM and Hon. E. P. WALTON, for the use of the Historical Society, the State Library, and the General Assembly, as follows :— To each member of the Senate and House of Representatives, two copies ; to each Town Clerk, one copy ; to each College, Normal School, and Academy in this State, one copy ; to the Governor, each of the heads of Departments, and each Judge of the Supreme Court, one copy ; to the State Library, two hundred copies ; to the Vermont Historical Society, three hundred and fifty copies ; and the remaining copies shall be divided between the public Libraries in the State not otherwise supplied, under direction of the State Librarian.

PASSED in the Senate and House of Representatives, Oct. 17, 1878.

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PROCEEDINGS.

THE annual meeting of the VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY was called in Room No. 12 at the State House, at Montpelier, on Tuesday, October 15th, 1878, at four o'clock in the afternoon.

The meeting was called to order by the President.

The records of the last meeting were read by the Secretary, and approved.

On motion, Hon. E. P. COLTON, of Irasburgh, was elected a member of the Society.

Mr. HEATH moved that the President appoint a committee of three to nominate a list of officers for the year ensuing ;

Which was agreed to, and Hon. CHARLES H. HEATH, Hon. R. S. TAFT, and Hon. E. P. COLTON, were appointed such committee.

Mr. HEATH declining to serve, Hon. E. A. SOWLES was appointed a member of such committee.

On motion of Hon. G. G. BENEDICT, Hon. D. P. WEBSTER, of Putney, was elected a member of the Society.

On motion of Rev. W. S. HAZEN, FRANK PLUMLEY, Esq., of Northfield, was elected a member of the Society.

On motion, Rev. J. H. HINCKS, of Montpelier, was elected a member of the Society.

On motion of M. D. GILMAN, Esq., Rev. HENRY A. HAZEN, of Billerica, Mass., Prof. NOAH CRESSY, of Amherst, Mass., and Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, of Boston, Mass., were elected as corresponding members of the Society; and

THOMAS P. ROGERS, of Burlington, ANDREW J. HOWE, of Montpelier, CHAUNCY K. WILLIAMS, of Rutland, and Rev. A. D. BARBER, of Montpelier, were elected resident members of the Society; and

JAMES HUTCHINSON, of West Randolph, and Hon. ROSWELL FARNHAM, were re-instated as members of the Society.

The report of the Treasurer was read, and, on motion, was accepted and adopted.

The Committee on Nominations reported the following as a list of officers of the Society for the year ensuing:

President—HON. E. P. WALTON, of Montpelier.

Vice Presidents—HON. JAMES BARRETT, of Woodstock; Rev. WILLIAM S. HAZEN, of Northfield; Hon. EDWARD A. SOWLES, of St. Albans.

Recording Secretary—CHARLES W. PORTER, of Montpelier.

Corresponding Secretaries—Hon. G. G. BENEDICT, of Burlington; HENRY CLARK, of Rutland.

Treasurer—JOHN W. PAGE, of Montpelier.

Librarian—MARCUS D. GILMAN, of Montpelier.

Curators—Hon. R. S. TAFT, of Burlington; H. A. CUTTING, M. D., of Lunenburg; Hon. GILBERT A. DAVIS, of Reading; H. A. HUSE, Esq., of Montpelier; Hon. E. P. COLTON, of Irasburgh.

Printing and Publishing Committee—Hon. HILAND HALL, of Bennington; Hon. E. P. WALTON, of Montpelier; Hon. CHAS. H. HEATH, of Montpelier.

Which report was accepted and adopted, and the persons therein named were elected officers of the Society for the year ensuing.

The report of the Librarian was read, and, on motion, accepted and adopted.

Mr. GILMAN moved that a list of the donations to the Society, with the names of the donors, be published with the Proceedings of the Society ;

Which motion was agreed to.

Mr. TAFT moved that the President and Librarian of the Society be appointed a committee to solicit an appropriation of money by the Legislature, to be used in procuring the binding of the unbound Collections of the Society ; which was agreed to.

Mr. SOWLES offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That this Society, recognizing the valuable services of Miss A. M. HEMENWAY as editor of the VERMONT GAZETTEER, and appreciating the GAZETTEER as a depository of historical information of very high value to the people of the State, respectfully request the Legislature to assist Miss HEMENWAY in the completion of her work by authorizing a subscription for copies of the GAZETTEER on the part of the State, or in such other manner as their wisdom may direct.

Which was adopted.

Mr. GILMAN moved that Mr. A. E. Knapp's Genealogical Record be recommended by the Society for use in the families of Vermont ; which was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. GILMAN, MOSES E. CHENEY, of Barnard, was elected a member of the Society.

On motion of Mr. CLARK, GEORGE F. KOON, of North Bennington, was elected a member, and Hon. CLARK JILLSON, of Worcester, Mass., a corresponding member, of the Society.

On motion of Mr. BENEDICT, Hon. HOMER N. HIBBARD, of Chicago, Ill., was elected a corresponding member of the Society.

On motion, the Society adjourned to meet in Representatives' Hall, at 7 o'clock this evening.

EVENING.

THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY met in Representatives' Hall, at the State House, on Tuesday evening, October 15, at 7 o'clock, pursuant to the order of adjournment.

The meeting was called to order by the President.

Prayer was offered by Rev. W. S. HAZEN.

Rev. M. H. BUCKHAM, D. D., delivered an address. Subject, "The late Rev. WILLIAM H. LORD, D. D."

Hon. E. P. WALTON delivered an address. Subject, "The First Legislature of Vermont."

On motion, the following persons were elected members of the Society: Hon. JAMES L. MARTIN, of Londonderry; Hon. NATHAN T. SPRAGUE, of Brandon; Hon. ALBERT SOWLES, of St. Albans; Hon. JED. P. LADD, of Alburgh; EDWARD CONANT, of Randolph; M. C. HYDE, of Poultney; JOSEPH A. WING, of Montpelier; Dr. D. G. KEMP, of Montpelier.

Mr. GILMAN offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be tendered to Rev. M. H. BUCKHAM and Hon. E. P. WALTON, for their addresses delivered this evening.

Which was adopted.

On motion, the Society adjourned.

CHARLES W. PORTER,

Secretary.

BIENNIAL REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

OF THE

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The following is a summary of the additions to the library of the Society for the two years ending October 8, 1878 :

1876-7.	Books, bound, vols.....	406	
	Newspapers, mostly unbound, vols.....	75	
	Pamphlets	744	
	Other articles.....	10	
	Total.....		1235
1877-8.	Books	201	
	Pamphlets	1635	
	Newspapers, vols.....	94	
	Maps.....	51	
	Copper and Silver Coins.....	97	
	Indian relics	100	
	Other articles	5	
			2183
	Total for the two years.....		3418

Thus it appears that the Society is in a flourishing condition ; its immediate wants are a few hundred dollars for putting in order and binding its large accumulation of newspapers, magazines, &c., and "more room" for its rapidly increasing library.

NAMES OF DONORS

AND OTHERS WITH WHOM EXCHANGES HAVE BEEN MADE.

CHIEF OF ENGINEERS, U. S. ARMY, Washington, D. C.—14 vols. Reports of Explorations, Surveys, &c. ; 42 Maps, mostly of Battlefields of the late civil war.

P. S. PALMER, Plattsburgh, N. Y.—1 pamphlet, Battle of Valcour, on Lake Champlain, Oct. 11, 1776.

ESSEX INSTITUTE, Salem, Mass.—33 numbers of Bulletin ; 9 parts of Collections.

BUREAU OF EDUCATION, Washington, D. C.—10 vols. of Reports on Education, etc.

WORCESTER (Mass.) SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY—3 pamph., Proceedings, etc.

FRANKLIN SOCIETY, Chicago—12 nos. of *The Printing Press*.

WM. G. BROOKS, Esq., Boston—1 manuscript, Tour of Cadets of Norwich University to Manchester, Vt., in 1823.

BARNES FRISBIE, Poultney—4 copies of his History of Poultney.

MISS A. M. HEMENWAY, Burlington, Vt.—1 Military Sword, worn by Gen. DeKalb, when he fell in the War of the Revolution ; 1 Small Sword, worn by Lieut. N. M. Clark, when he fell in a duel at New Orleans ; 1 Autograph Note of Thomas Jefferson : 1 vol. "Clarke Family."

Z. CHANDLER, Secretary of the Interior—2 vols. House and Senate Journal.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, Worcester, Mass.—5 pamphlets, Proceedings, etc.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Boston—7 vols. Proceedings, Collections, etc.

S. J. ALLEN, Hartford, Vt.—1 pamphlet, Vision, &c., 1795.

HIRAM CARLETON, Montpelier,—1 document, Autograph of Andrew Jackson.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA—26 vols. books, 10 pamphlets.

DR. SAMUEL A. GREEN, Boston—13 vols. books, 54 pamphlets.

JOEL MUNSELL, Albany—19 vols. books.

YALE COLLEGE—4 catalogues and obituaries.

Rev. S. L. GEROULD, Goffstown, N. H.—6 pamphlets.

B. F. DECOSTA, New York—21 books and pamphlets.

Hon. E. P. WALTON, Montpelier—18 vols. books and 2 manuscripts.

H. B. DAWSON, New York—17 vols. books.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN—135 vols. books and pamphlets.

Col. A. H. HOYT, Cincinnati—1 pamphlet.

Rev. J. M. C. FULTON, Montpelier—2 vols., *Works of the Learned*.
London: 1739.

R. M. UNDERHILL, West Dorset, Vt.—1 Musket, once owned by Ethan Allen.

A. E. KNAPP, Poultney—1 vol., *Genealogical Record*.

D. P. HOLTON, New York—3 pamphlets, *Bulletins of Pilgrim Record Society*.

G. P. CONN, Concord, N. H.—1 vol., *Transactions of New Hampshire Medical Society*, 1875-6.

MEDICO-LEGAL SOCIETY, New York—1 copy *Sanitarian*.

Mrs. F. R. ALDRICH, Barre, Vt.—21 pamphlets; 20 vols. newspapers.

R. BATTELL, Norfolk, Conn.—1 vol., *Life of Gen. Putnam*.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, Washington—3 vols., *Coast Survey*, etc.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, Washington—38 vols., *Contributions, Reports*, etc.

GEO. B. REED, Boston—1 copy, *Tribute to Hon. B. R. Curtiss*.

H. G. LUNT, Evanston, Ill.—1 copy *Addresses, &c.*, N. W. University.

THEODORE LYMAN, Boston—1 pamphlet, the "*Garrison Mob*."

CHAS. P. MARSH, Woodstock, Vt.—2 copies "*Woodstock Centennial*,"
1876.

ROBERT S. HALE, Elizabethtown, N. Y.—1 copy "*Hale Family*."

LICKING COUNTY PIONEER AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, Newark, Ohio,
—5 vols., *Proceedings, &c.*; 7 pamphlets.

Rev. E. F. SLAFTER, Boston—6 vols. books.

L. N. HARD, Manchester, Vt.—1 copy *Sermon*, 1782.

REDWOOD LIBRARY, Newport, R. I.—3 pamphlets.

JAMES ANGLIM, Washington, D. C.—1 vol., *Lanman's Biog. Annals*.

ALBERT SMITH, Peterborough, N. H.—1 vol., *History of Peterborough*.

FIRELAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Norwalk, Ohio—6 vols., *Fireland's Pioneer*.

J. S. PIERSON, New York—17 vols., Relating to the Civil War.

MISS ELLEN D. LARNED, Thompson, Conn.—1 copy Vol. 1, History of Windham County, Conn.

NEW HAVEN (Conn.) HISTORICAL SOCIETY—2 vols., Collections.

Admiral RODGERS, Annapolis, Md.—1 copy History Naval Academy.

ALBANY INSTITUTE, Albany, N. Y.—6 vols. Transactions ; 10 pamphlets.

HUMANE SOCIETY, Boston—1 copy History of the Society.

E. G. PETTIGREW, Ludlow, Vt.—4 Ames' Almanacs, 1763-7.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MONTANA—1 vol. Collections.

WILL. SULLIVAN, Montpelier—1 vol., 1841, Ladies' Repository, Lowell, Mass. ; contains plate and sketch of Vermont Capitol, erected in 1833-4.

W. PARSONS LUNT, Boston—4 vols. books.

SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—1 vol. Collections ; 1 pamphlet.

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT—4 pamphlets.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, R. A. BROCK—3 volumes, 49 pamphlets, and 4 newspapers, containing Historical articles.

NEW HAMPSHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY—1 volume ; 10 pamphlets.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—2 vols. Collections ; 3 pamphlets.

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY—15 vols. Collections and Proceedings.

NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY OF ORANGE, N. J.—3 pamphlets.

NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY—4 vols. Collections.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—7 vols ; 23 pamphlets.

I. SMUCKER, Newark, Ohio—6 vols ; 1 pamphlet.

A. C. SMITH, Esq., Litchfield, Minn.—4 vols. and 2 maps.

MRS. GEORGE LANGDON, Montpelier—21 vols., books ; 26 pamphlets.

CHAUNCY K. WILLIAMS, Rutland—125 copies Rutland Centennial ; 150 rare Vermont pamphlets.

T. C. PHINNEY, Montpelier—14 vols., books.

Senator EDMUNDS—6 vols. Documents and Record.

JOHN H. HART, Philadelphia—1 pamphlet, Centennial.

Rev. L. H. ELLIOT, Bradford, Vt.—1 vol. History of Prince Arthur.

L. H. HEMENWAY, Manchester, Vt.—3 vols. Gazetteers.

DOMINION OF CANADA—3 vols. Geological Reports.

C. C. SAVAGE, E. Brooklyn, N. Y.—1 copy Greeley Memorial.

Department Interior, Washington—Fac simile of 1st Census of Bennington, 1790.

E. H. HARRINGTON, Irasburgh, Vt.—38 pamphlets.

MAUMEE VALLEY PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Toledo, Ohio—1 copy Proceedings, 1877.

JOSEPH WILLIAMS, Belfast Me.—1 copy History of Belfast.

CHAS. L. WOODWARD, New York—8 pamphlets.

J. K. TOBEY, Calais, Vt.—3 pamphlets, Grange Reports.

STATE OF MICHIGAN—1 pamphlet on Education.

E. O. CHILDS, Newton, Mass.—1 vol. Newton Centennial.

J. H. LEONARD, San Jose, Cal.—50 vols. Newspapers unbound.

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY—2 vols. Quarterly Record.

J. F. WILLIAMS, St. Paul, Minn.—1 copy Memorial, V. J. Walker, of Vermont; 2 vols. books.

SUPERVISORS, San Francisco—2 vols. Municipal Reports.

GOV. HARTRANFT, Harrisburg, Pa.—3 vols. Archives, Second Series.

B. B. SMALLEY, Burlington—1 copy Proceedings Dem. Convention at St. Louis, 1876.

S. B. RYDER, Brandon, Vt.—18 Baptist pamphlets.

WESTERN RESERVE AND NORTHERN OHIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Cleveland—11 vols. Collections, Geology, &c.

F. H. BUTLER & Co., Windsor, Vt.—2 photographs of Old Constitution House, Windsor, Vt., 1777.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE—1 vol; 4 pamphlets.

CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY—1 copy Annual Report.

J. H. MERRIFIELD, Newfane, Vt.—7 copies History of Newfane.

FLETCHER LIBRARY, Burlington, Vt.—1 copy Catalogue of Library.

W. B. LAPHAM, Augusta, Me.—1 vol. Centennial Addresses.

C. C. DAWSON, Saratoga—1 vol. Dawson Genealogy.

MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, N. Y.—1 copy 56th Annual Report.

L. H. KELLOGG, Benson, Vt.—1 Revolutionary Sword worn by Lieut. Isaac Nash of Brattleboro, at the time he fell at the battle of Bennington.

DE BERNARDY BROTHERS, London—2 vols. of *Next of Kin Gazette*.

GEO. E. RANNEY, Lansing, Mich.—1 vol. Transactions Mich. State Med. Society.

GEO. OLCOTT, Charlestown, N. H.—2 copies History of Charlestown.

ALFRED GILMAN, Lowell, Mass.—1 copy Contributions to Old Residents' Association.

NATHAN CROSBY, Lowell, Mass.—1 copy "A. Crosby Family."

MRS. F. F. MERRILL, Montpelier—6 vols. Vt. Books.

A. D. HAGER, Chicago—1 copy "Illinois Sons of Vt.

REV. C. HAMMOND, Monson, Mass.—1 copy "Report on Academies."

DIOCESE OF VT., T. H. CANFIELD, Sec'y—2 Annual Conventions.

A. T. TURNER, Boston—3 vols. Auditor's Reports, 1875-7-8.

DR. G. N. BRIGHAM, G. Rapids, Mich.—1 copy "Harvest Moon," Poems.

HIRAM WALTERS, Bennington—1 cannon ball picked up on the battlefield.

MRS. WILLIAM CLARK, Newbury, Vt.. 1 copy Steele's Royalton and Captivity.

REV. H. A. HAZEN, Billerica, Mass.. 66 pamphlets; 3 vols. books.

REV. LEWIS GROUT, Brattleboro, Vt.. 3 vols. books.

HON. MARSHALL P. WILDER, Boston.. 1 copy of his Address in Baltimore, 1877; 1 copy of his Biography and Works, and History of Massachusetts Agriculture.

ATHENÆUM, St. Johnsbury, Vt.. 1 copy Catalogue of Library.

GEORGE E. EMERY, Lynn, Mass.. 3 copies of early maps.

TUFTS COLLEGE, Mass.. Collegian 2 years and 5 pamphlets.

GEORGE L. HARRISON, Philadelphia.. 1 vol. "Chapters of Social Science."

EDWARD JARVIS, Dorchester, Mass.. 1 vol. History of Progress in the United States.

REV. I. P. LANGWORTHY, Boston.. 4 Vt. Bible Society Reports.

PETER G. SMITH, Montpelier—1 copy McOrmsby's Speller.

BARRE ACADEMY, J. S. Spaulding—3 catalogues.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY—Bulletins and monthly Reports; Annual Reports; and Proceedings at Dedication of Jamaica Plain Branch.

MAINE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE—7 vols. on various subjects.

HON. NATH'L EATON, Middlesex, Vt.—21 pamphlets.

JOHN LANGDON SIBLEY, Cambridge, Mass.—16 Yale catalogues.

SAMUEL WELLS, Montpelier—File of Montpelier village Reports; File of Farmers' Mutual Reports; 3 Vt. Directories; 1 vol. manuscript Records of Montpelier Fire Department, 1809-1854; 60 pamphlets.

PROF. J. D. BUTLER, Madison, Wis.—18 pamphlets of his authorship.

GODDARD SEMINARY, Barre—3 catalogues.

J. S. CILLEY, Brandon—Graded School, 2 catalogues.

Hon. L. P. POLAND—3 vols. of his Speeches and Reports.

C. S. FORBES, St. Albans, Vt—1 copy Bennington Centennial, 1877.

C. P. THAYER, M. D., Burlington—2 copies of his Vt. Medical Register, 1877.

Hon. ALBERT CLARKE, St. Albans—7 pamphlets.

Dea. L. L. DUTCHER, St. Albans—1 copy his History of St. Albans; 1 copy his Manual of Congregational Church.

MIDDLEBURY COLLEGE—14 College pamphlets.

PERKINS ACADEMY, South Woodstock, Vt—1 catalogue.

JAMES H. HOLMES, Montpelier—1 copy of his Window Gardening.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—5 vols. ; 7 pamphlets.

R. I. HISTORICAL SOCIETY...21 pamphlets.

APPALACHIAN MOUNTAIN CLUB, Boston...4 pamphlets.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY...2 vols. Collections.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY, Boston, Mass...
2 vols. Quarterly Register; 2 pamphlets, proceedings; 1 pamphlet, Memorial.

J. S. SENTER, Philadelphia...2 vols. ; 1 map.

TUTTLE & Co., Rutland...135 pamphlets; 3 volumes books.

KANSAS HISTORICAL SOCIETY...1 vol. ; 1 pamphlet.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY...2 vol. Collections.

Rev. F. BUTLER, Windsor, Vt...2 pamphlets.

Prof. J. M. CURRIER, Castleton, Vt...20 vols. ; 75 pamphlets; 100 Indian relics.

Mrs. JULIA C. R. DORR, Rutland...4 vols. of her Works.

Rev. C. S. SMITH, Montpelier...3 vols. ; 15 pamphlets.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY...22 vols. ; 1 pamphlet.

GEORGE F. KOON, North Bennington, Vt...75 Vt. Registers and Almanacs (Walton's) etc. ; a file of *Journal of the Times*, a newspaper edited by William Lloyd Garrison, at Bennington, 1828-9; a file of the *Emancipator*, by Garrison, 1845-7; a file of the *Telegraph*, Brandon, 1833, together with other files of newspapers; 50 Vt. Almanacs of early dates; 97 copper and silver coins; 48 volumes of books, mostly Vermont; 125 pamphlets, many rare.

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, New York City...2 vols. Quarterly Record.

MOSES E. CHENEY, Barnard, Vt...37 numbers early Vt. newspapers; 2 Vt. pamphlets, Barnard imprint; 8 other Vt. books and pamphlets.

J. M. SLADE, Middlebury...10 copies Slade's State Papers.

NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY...1 copy Report, 1876.

J. S. SPAULDING, Barre, Vt...2 pamphlets; School Report, and History of Barre Academy, &c.

CALEDONIA COUNTY ACADEMY, Peacham...7 catalogues, 1870-77.

MAINE GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY...2 vols. Quarterly Genealogist; 1 vol. Ricker Family.

MISS MARY O. NUTTING, South Hadley, Mass...2 vols; 2 pamphlets.

REV. C. L. GOODELL, St. Louis...2 sermons by himself.

E. C. PALMER, Rutland, Vt...5 vols. school books by T. H. Palmer.

AM. SWEDENBORG PUBLISHING COMPANY, N. Y...20 vols Swedenborg's Works.

PATENT OFFICE, Washington...Official Gazette, from Jan'y 1, 1878.

W. W. CADWELL'S ESTATE, Montpelier...File of *New York Tribune*, 1848-74; 40 vols., books and pamphlets.

MRS. MARY P. S. CUTTS, Brattleboro, Vt...1 vol. Poems; 4 pamphlets, all Vermont.

MRS. MELUSINA FAY PIERCE, Cambridge, Mass...4 copies of addresses by herself.

Gen. W. S. STRYKER, Trenton, N. J...2 vols. 4to, Record of New Jersey in the Civil War.

REV. SILAS KETCHUM, Poquonock, Conn...1 copy his eulogy on Senator Wilson.

REV. C. B. DRAKE, Royalton, Vt—1 copy Church Centennial, Royalton, 1877.

E. W. THOMPSON, Montpelier...2 old bank bills.

MINNESOTA ACADEMY SCIENCES...1 copy Bulletin of 1876.

J. C. B. DAVIS, New York...1 copy his letter on Charles Sumner and Alabama Claims, 1878.

D. T. TAYLOR, Rouses Point, N. Y...100 copies, all different, of Adventical and Prophetical newspapers in United States.

HENRY STEVENS, London,—1 copy Caxton Bible Exhibition, 1877.

Miss BETSEY W. CADWELL, Montpelier...1 copy quarto Bible, *Brattleboro*, 1816; 3 vols. books; 4 pamphlets.

D. R. WHITING, Boston...1 copy History of Suffolk Bank.

Misses PHILENA and PHOEBE F. MCKEEN, Andover, Mass...From the estate of their late father, Rev. Silas McKeen, Bradford, Vt., 35 vols., unbound, *Vt. Chronicle*, 1835-76; 10 vols. *Bradford Opinion*, and other papers; 800 pamphlets and small books. A valuable addition.

CITY OF TOLEDO, Ohio...Public Library Report, 1877.

JAMES H. PHELPS, West Townshend, Vt...1 copy Part I, Acton, of History of Townshend.

DELAWARE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Wilmington...1 vol. Henry Hudson; 8 pamphlets; 1 Portrait of Geo. Read.

ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, Davenport, Iowa—Part I of Vol. 2 of Proceedings.

A. R. SPOFFORD, Washington, D. C...10 copies Congressional Directory; 1 copy American Almanac.

J. C. WILLIAMS, Danby, Vt...6 copies his History of Danby.

C. K. FIELD, Brattleboro...1 copy his History of Field Family; 1 copy of Trial, Torrey vs. Field.

J. A. WING, Montpelier...11 copies his "Pluck and other Poems."

Senator MORRILL...4 vols. U. S. documents.

DR. L. C. BUTLER, Essex, Vt...1 vol. Vt. Med. Soc'y Proceedings, 1864-76; 4 vols. same in part; 4 copies his History of Essex, Vt.

PROF. N. CRESSY, Amherst, Mass...10 vols. Smithsonian Contributions; 5 vols., other books.

LIBRARY COMPANY, Philadelphia...Bulletin, New Series, No. 1.

NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Halifax...1 copy Record of Commission, etc.

U. S. NAVAL OBSERVATORY...1 copy Instructions, etc.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Savannah...1 copy vol. 4, Collections.

AM. ARC. and NUMIS. SOCIETY, New York...Proceedings, with Prof. Anthon's Address, 1878.

THOMAS H. CANFIELD, Sec'y, Burlington...Diocese of Vermont Report, 1878.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY...Biography of Gen. B. J. Swett.

Col. C. H. JOYCE, Rutland...12 of his Speeches in Congress: 1 vol. U. S. Coast Survey; 1 vol. Commercial Relations.

H. F. HILL, Concord, N. H. . N. H. Publishers' Conventions, 1877-78.

F. KIDDER, Boston. . His Address—Discovery of America by John Cabot.

HENRY T. DROWNE, New York. . 4 historical pamphlets.

FREE PRESS ASSOCIATION, Burlington. . Weekly *Free Press* seven years.

HIRAM ATKINS, Montpelier. . Weekly *Argus & Patriot*, eight years.

Some large additions have been received since Oct. 8, which do not appear in this report.

The larger part of the above list has been received through exchanges; a small fraction has been purchased under the direction of the officers. We trust that citizens of Vermont will not forget the wants of the Society to the extent they have in the past.

Respectfully submitted.

M. D. GILMAN, *Librarian.*

MONTPELIER, VT., Oct. 15, 1878.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS
ON THE
LIFE AND CHARACTER
OF THE
REV. WILLIAM H. LORD, D. D.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
AT MONTPELIER, OCT. 15, 1878,

BY PREST. MATTHEW H. BUCKHAM.

ADDRESS.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen
of the Historical Society:*

By your invitation I am to speak in memory of our late associate, Dr. WILLIAM H. LORD. This recognition Dr. Lord merits from this society. He was for many years one of its most assiduous members; was its president from 1869 to 1876; and is entitled to a large share of the honor which the society, now established and prosperous, reflects upon its earliest, its ablest, and its most faithful supporters. But it is not the mere ceremonious compliment paid to a deceased official which you expect of me to-night. Dr. Lord did not belong to the class of men whose respectable virtues you commemorate in a resolution, which you enter on your minutes, and then pass on to the order of the day. When such a man leaves the stage of life, History claims a place for him. He filled a large space in the public eye; he was a man of broad, many-sided character; many interests claim a part of him as their own; many callings, ranks, classes make up the long procession of his grateful and bereaved admirers. Letters, learning, public enterprise, society, friendship, all are eager to pay him a tribute of affection, for to all he gave freely of his own. And yet, if Dr. Lord has impressed himself upon the history of the State in such a way as to merit the thoughtful attention of the Historical Society, it

is mainly through the work which he did as a Christian Minister, and so it is of him in this capacity that I am called chiefly to speak. I offer no apology to this secular body for the frequent references to sacred names and things which my theme requires. Religion has as legitimate a place in history as any other of man's interests, and its ministers act as important a part in the world's great affairs as do those of legislation, or war, or justice. Dr. Lord himself, though he had but a modest estimate of his abilities, did not doubt that in doing his appropriate work as a minister he was as really influencing the intelligence and culture, the legislation and jurisprudence, the industry and the social economy of the State, and was thus as really shaping its history, as if he had been working more directly for these ends in any of the secular professions. It is well that there should be public recognition of this truth at such a time and place as this. Vermont is what it is, its history, its character, its high place in the regards of the nation and the world are what they are, partly, I might say largely, because of the potent though noiseless influence of its Christian ministers of all denominations. The mass of them, laboring in obscurity and humility, and often all the more successfully for that reason; History can honor only as she honors the mass of faithful workers in other fields, by honoring their calling and recognizing the value of their services. When, however, one of their number, by reason of larger gifts or favoring opportunities, rises to eminence among his brethren, and, in some good degree, becomes a representative to the world of the merits and value of the Christian ministry, History duly recognizes and honors the whole body by according to him a place by the side of the great soldiers, statesmen and jurists whom she delights to honor.

WILLIAM HAYES LORD was born of Rev. Nathan Lord and Elizabeth King Leland Lord, March 11th, 1824, at Amherst, New Hampshire. In 1828 Rev. Nathan Lord, then pastor of the Congregational church at Amherst, was called to the presidency of Dartmouth College, a post which he filled for thirty-five years with distinguished ability, associating his name inseparably with the history of Dartmouth College, as did his contemporaries, Dr. Nott with Union College, Dr. Humphrey with Amherst, and Dr. Mark Hopkins with Williams. No estimate of William H. Lord would do him justice which failed to appreciate the strong influence over him of that remarkable man from whom he inherited some of his most characteristic mental and moral traits and some of his most pronounced opinions. Brought at this early age into the midst of a college circle, he had the advantage and the disadvantage of growing up in an atmosphere of learning and of being fore-ordained to a collegiate career. The advantage of such a position is obvious; the disadvantage is no less real, and lies in the danger that a liberal education, most valued when it is a far-away prize to be won with toil and sacrifice, will when it comes without effort be accepted without enthusiasm. That it was so in the case of some of his brothers and not so in his own, reveals in him a strong native aptitude for intellectual pursuits. Having received his preparatory education at Moor's Charity School at Hanover, he entered Dartmouth College in 1839, in his sixteenth year, an older and a younger brother being also members of the same class. Professor Sanborn, one of his instructors, says of him: "He was even then, young as he was, a marked man. A stranger entering the class for the first time would have been impressed by his manly appearance and dignity of deportment. He wore a serious and earnest expression of countenance and

seemed unusually grave for his years." On the other hand, a classmate says of him: "He never seemed to have the manner of a close student, but was always playful and ready for any college sports. His frank, friendly manner and his uniform good nature made him one of the best known and most popular members of the class." From these diverse but not conflicting accounts, it is easy to see what he was as a college student. grave and earnest when on duty; genial, mirthful, frolicsome, as a boy should be, when his task was done; the same, in short, that he was all through life. From both sources of information we learn that he was one of the best scholars in his class, ranking well in all his studies and excelling in the departments of language and literature. His name appears among those elected to the Phi Beta Kappa Society from his class, and the Commencement schedule shows that he received the appointment to deliver the Greek poem, both of which facts confirm the testimony to his high rank in scholarship. The subject of his poem was "The Ruins of Mycenæ." His class was one of uncommon ability, numbering among its many names since honored those of the scholarly and beloved Putnam, afterward Professor of Greek at Dartmouth, whose name is still fragrant in the memory of all who knew him, and of Alva Hovey, professor in Newton Theological Seminary, one of the most learned men of his own or of any denomination. It is no small praise to have been accounted the peer of such men as these, whose careers, as well as his own, furnish a new confirmation of the rule, in despite of some exceptions, that the foremost men in college are likely to be leaders in the great world.

In matters of religion he was inclined, during the early part of his course, to be somewhat skeptical, probably after the ordinary youthful fashion. Coming in contact, however, with a

classmate whose skepticism was stronger and deeper than his own, he assumed the attitude of a defender of the truth, and thus recovered his own faith, and before graduating became a decidedly religious man both in conviction and experience. Having chosen the ministry as his profession, he entered upon his theological studies at Andover immediately after his graduation, and completed the prescribed course in 1846. In an address to the Princeton theological students in 1876, he gives some reminiscences of his life at Andover. "Thirty years ago," he says, "I was in the first half of my theological course at Andover.* The old theological light† which had ruled the day then for forty years was just touching the western horizon, slowly sinking to his evening's repose. The keen critical exegete‡ who had been transferred from a pulpit in New Haven, and who mingled in his instructions a keen analysis of Scripture with a child-like love for his Saviour, was also unbuckling his harness in order to lay it aside. He had worn it so long that when it was taken off his life went with it. Under the tempered radiance of their parting instructions, I received whatever ideas I had before I entered upon it, of the nature of the minister's work. They were vague and dim, it is true, for aside from the fact that Hebrew and Dogmatic Theology and the culture of the Rhetorical art and Ecclesiastical History absorbed all thought, it is not given to young men so to anticipate the future as to be ready for all its emergencies." I have inferred from the testimony of his contemporaries at Andover that he was not there quite the marked man that Professor Sanborn describes him as being at Hanover; that Hebrew and Dogmatic Theology did not absorb quite all of his thoughts, but that he then felt the charms of those delicious invitations to mere literary enjoyment against

* Probably written in 1875. † Leonard Woods. ‡ Moses Stuart.

which he had to contend all his life after. It is the testimony of an intimate acquaintance that those who knew him there did not anticipate for him the brilliant career which was before him, though his occasional exhibitions of remarkable quickness and power of concentration indicated to them that he might attain eminence if he cared to pay the price for it. It is easy, indeed, for us to see that the qualities which afterwards distinguished him were not those which would enable him to shine in a theological seminary. He was not a sharp philological critic; he was not a subtle logician; he could state an opinion with clearness and force, and present it with luminous illustration and persuasive appeal, better than he could maintain it in the lists against all comers.

Shortly after finishing his theological studies, Mr. Lord began to preach to the Congregational church in Montpelier, and receiving a call from the church to be its pastor, was installed over it September 20th, 1847. He was then only twenty-three years old. It is quite safe to affirm that no young man, however strong his constitution and however decided his abilities, can undertake such a charge at such an age without suffering for it. Abundant facts on all hands show that the years of full professional labor and anxiety which precede thirty are likely to be avenged by twice their number subtracted from the working years beyond fifty. The young men of this generation will not have learned all the lesson of Dr. Lord's life and death, if they continue to make haste to get into their profession or their business before body and mind have become sufficiently compacted to endure the wear and strain of our intense American life.

In an anniversary sermon preached twenty years from the date of his settlement, Mr. Lord said to his people: "On the first Sabbath of 1847 I was allowed for the first time to call

your attention to the subjects of our common faith. My discourse was upon Christ as the true object of the sinner's regard, as the sole object of the believer's love. It was intended to be the key-note of my ministry, and I trust that but little of my ministry has been out of harmony with it." On another occasion he spoke thus: "The place of a minister's influence, usefulness and power is in the pulpit, and the pulpit was made to uphold, defend and publish the Word of God. A minister may waste his influence, impair his usefulness, honeycomb his heart and soften his intellect, by giving his first care to what are popularly termed the social duties of his office; but he may build a permanent parish, reach a wide community, unveil the great wisdom and wealth of Christian truth and feed and enrich the church of God, only by close study of the Scriptures, by patient mastery of the revelation, and by a determination to resist all importunity to be a minister of popular delectation and devote himself to the commission of Christ and preach the gospel. No suavity of address, no genial social grace, no sweetness of the hand in common intercourse can command men, can help and save them like a voice that is inspired with the whole truth of God, like a lip that trembles with love for Him of whom it speaks and for them to whom it speaks." No words of mine could so well describe Dr. Lord's ministry of thirty years, what it was and what it was not, as this simple statement of its theme, this eloquent defence of its method. He was emphatically a preacher; this he made the main work of his life; to this he gave his whole mind and heart. He was not emphatically a pastor. He did not belong to the very useful class of men who are rather dull in the pulpit, but active and sympathetic in their house-to-house and hand-to-hand labors; nor to the still more useful class of men who do both kinds of service

with a moderate and always acceptable ability; but to the smaller class who make the pulpit a throne of beneficent power, but whose very royalty prevents an easy and welcome access to the hearts of men on the common level of life. Whether or not these men are to be accounted more favored of God and more useful in his church, is not for us to say. That he endows this class of men with great gifts for one kind of work and withholds the qualities needed for the other, shows that he has a place for them. Dr. Lord thought he could say with St. Paul, "Christ sent me not" to do this or that other important work, "but to preach the gospel." And it was the gospel that he preached—not his own or other men's doubts and guesses about the glorious and the awful things of eternity, but the truth as it is revealed, and as it is embodied in Jesus Christ. It is not too much to say that for thirty years he preached Christ to the people of Montpelier. And yet his preaching was no iteration of commonplaces. Christ, as he conceived and preached him, was not the mere author of a system of truth which could be stated in propositions and soon exhausted, but the source and channel of a new life which flows in upon our old sin-wasted humanity, reviving, stimulating, glorifying every part of it. And so he aimed to preach Christ as he stands related to every part of our human life which he touched while he was with us—Christ at the marriage in Cana of Galilee, at the home in Bethany, and by the grave of Lazarus, blessing and sanctifying our human relations; no less than Christ on the Mount of Transfiguration, in the Garden of Gethsemane, and on the cross of Calvary, revealing to us the profounder needs and the loftier capabilities of our spiritual nature. The distinguishing merit of Dr. Lord's preaching, as regards its substance, was a rare and happy combination of the intensely evangelical with the

broadly human spirit. One consequence of this was, that his preaching interested a great variety of minds. The lovers of good doctrine enjoyed its biblical flavor; those who think only through their feelings were melted by its tenderness; the Marthas liked it for the help it gave them in every-day duties; the Marys were attracted by the spirit of piety that breathed through it; business men, lawyers, members of the legislature, enjoyed listening to a man who thought strongly and felt deeply on the things of this life—knew more and cared more about them, perhaps, than they did, and yet who cared still more and felt still more deeply about the things of the spirit and of the life to come. In a sermon preached about two years ago, which seems to have made a deep impression on many members of the last legislature, for several of them have spoken to me of it, I find this passage: “How we misjudge the value of things! I have often done it. I should hardly dare tell how much in my own soul I have loved this world and the things of this world; how I have deemed those fortunate who have no strife with the fierce wild beasts of poverty and want, who have inherited or found fortune, or been born to social rank. I will not say how at times I have wished I might have turned my powers, as some say, to a better account, and been able to look forward to the evening days of this life without any anxious care, and then die and leave a fortune to my children. But alas, I ought to be ashamed of such a thought. For the fortunate man is not the one who has all that money can buy, but the one who has what money can never buy; the fortunate, blessed child is not the one launched out into life on a rich argosy of material comforts and appointments, but who starts in life with industry and self-denial, sound principle and reasonable culture, a great fear of God in his soul and a great love in his heart for Christ and

for his fellow men. Reverence, gratitude, trust, love, obedience. an unconquerable will to keep every command of God, never take wings. They are costly things; but they are precious things and they last forever. The blessing of God maketh rich and wise. I will try to remember that, if ever I want pleasure or power or riches more than his blessing." Here was a preacher who was also, in a large and full sense, a man; not a feeble, bloodless anchorite declaiming against passions he had never felt, and pretending to despise worldly successes he never could have won; but a man who had been fully endowed with all that belongs to manhood, with a splendid physical organization, with a capacious intellect, with instincts, desires and ambitions which in most men easily become passions, with great executive and administrative abilities; a man who might have won almost any prize the world has to offer, but who had conquered appetite, turned his back on pleasure, refused place and power and flung away ambition, and had found satisfaction for his intellect, a home for his affections, a joyful activity of all the powers of his being, in that religion, at once a truth and a life, which centres in the Son of God, who is also the Son of Man. It was by such preaching as this, vital, sympathetic, true to human experience in its deeper needs, that Dr. Lord not only accomplished, in good measure, what he himself laid out for the preacher; not only "unveiled the great wisdom and wealth of Christian truth, and fed and enriched the church of God;" but also, to a good degree, did the work of a pastor, conversing with his people in their collective capacity more persuasively than he could have done by private effort, and attaching them to his office and his person by a three-fold cord of admiration, gratitude and affection.

In the structure and style of his sermons, Dr. Lord had some marked peculiarities. His method of treating a subject was not

to open it, as the phrase is, to develop it by following the natural succession of ideas, and thus to secure constant progress of thought and movement of feeling from beginning to end, but to put the subject in a succession of striking lights, and thus make it attractive to the imagination, interesting to the feelings and persuasive to the will. In this respect his oratory resembled that of Dr. Chalmers, as well as in affluence of illustration, and in the frequent iteration of the same thought in varying forms of expression for purposes of amplification and emphasis. His rhetoric had an almost oriental warmth and glow; and yet it was chaste as an icicle. His diction was choice and elegant, often "familiar, but by no means vulgar." Both in his sermons and his exercise of worship he kept studiously clear of all those reckless, irreverent, half profane modes of expression which the platform style of pulpit services has made too common. He abhorred above all things what he used to call "stump sermons" and "stump prayers." One of the incidental benefits of attending his ministry was an education in good English. His method of composition was to select a topic for his Sunday's discourse early in the week, to think upon it until it gradually took shape in his mind, even to its phraseology, and then, usually on Saturday, commit it to writing, which he did with great rapidity, seldom altering the structure of a sentence or correcting a phrase or word. His New Year's sermon for 1877, which must have been the last, or last but one, which he wrote, is numbered fourteen hundred and nine. This number, which does not include his funeral and occasional discourses, but only his preparations for regular Sabbath day services, if distributed evenly over his thirty years ministry, would give an average of nearly fifty fresh sermons a year.

His delivery was pleasing and effective—not marked by great changes in modulation, accompanied with but little gesture, but

adapted to impress the hearer with the dignity of the speaker, the gravity of the subject and the occasion, and the truth and importance of the thought or feeling expressed. I find that to be true in his case which is affirmed of almost all orators, that the spoken word often produced an effect which the mere reader cannot account for. There was something in the man, as Webster has put it, which at times gave to his words a power whose spell forever passed away with the occasion.

It was not to be expected that a small parish like this could hide so gifted a preacher as they had secured from the envious gaze of larger and wealthier congregations. Dr. Lord received many pressing invitations to remove to other and in some respects more inviting fields. Of the motives that led him to decline them, we will hear his own account. After refusing one of these invitations, he said to his congregation: "I love to dwell among my own people. But for this sentiment, perhaps principle, I might have gone a half-score of times. I have resisted attractions of larger places and emoluments, and of other positions, by a sort of natural contentment and conservative habit. I do not easily change my place or opinions. I will not say I have not been tempted, or that I should not have found satisfaction in other places that might have been mine, but I have preferred to dwell among my own people." It is said that on one of these occasions when he went to visit the church which had called him, he arose in the pulpit and amid the expectation which greeted him announced as his text, with total unconsciousness of its appositeness, until he was made aware of it by the smile of the audience, "Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?" They had to look for another, and he came home and preached an impressive sermon on the "Elements of power in the ministry," prominent among which he placed its permanency.

It would not, however, be correct to infer from all this that Mr. Lord's ministry was one of uninterrupted smoothness. There were elements of discord and occasions of difference, which gave rise to irritation on the part of some of his people, and disgust on his part, such as would have sundered any pastoral relation less firmly cemented. Dr. Lord's opinions on certain political and social questions were distasteful to a portion of his congregation. He had inherited, as was before intimated, the strongly conservative opinions of his father on slavery and on the relation of the church to social reforms: He did not obtrude his opinions upon the public, or mix them up with his preaching of the gospel, but what he believed he believed firmly, and he was not a man to trim his creed to the passing gale. It is not necessary now either to defend or condemn his course in these matters. Some of these questions are now, thank God, obsolete. On some others he somewhat modified his judgment in later years. It belongs to his biographer only to insist upon the hold he must have had on the affections of his people, in that, amid all the trials and excitements of the times, no one, or but few at most, ever thought of parting with their admired and beloved pastor, or would have exchanged him for the most zealous patriot or the most trenchant reformer in the nation.

Not that Mr. Lord was lacking, or was ever supposed to be lacking in patriotism, considered apart from politics. His patriotism, indeed, amounted almost to a passion. No man would have dared more, or suffered more, to maintain what he considered to be the cause of his country. But as his lot was cast at a time when patriotism, as regards the country at large, was to him mainly suffering and waiting, he seems to have lavished all the wealth of his patriotic feeling on the local commonwealth, on Vermont. It is all too feeble an expression of his

attachment to say that he passionately loved Vermont, its scenery, its institutions, its people. In a Thanksgiving sermon he enjoined upon his people the duty of "special gratitude to God for giving them a home where not only every material and essential purpose of life is answered, but where also there is not a moment of any day in our lives when nature is not producing picture after picture, glory after glory, and working constantly on the principle of the most perfect beauty, so that everything about us is filled with sources of interest and elements of fascination." His chief recreation was to wander, rod in hand, up and down the valleys that nestle among the hills of Vermont; and it was a genuine enthusiasm that prompted him to write of Rev. Dr. Aiken, of Rutland, a brother in the fishing craft in both senses, that he did not believe that God had made all the beautiful brooks and the beautiful trout of Vermont for the behoof and enjoyment of sinners. He admired no less the people of Vermont, their sturdy independence, their abhorrence of shams, their domestic virtues, their political integrity. It gave him deep inward satisfaction to see how the sensational preachers and lecturers, who had won popularity from the easy credulity of metropolitan audiences, were baffled by the penetrating good sense of a rural audience in Vermont. Proud as he was, aristocrat as he was called, he believed in the people when the people are as intelligent and self-respectful as are those of Vermont.

Mr. Lord's pulpit was in Montpelier, but his audience was widely scattered over the State. Through the members of the legislature and others whose duties brought them to the Capital, he reached a large number of the leading men of the State, who carried home with them memories and impressions which extended his influence and reputation. He was, at the time of his death, certainly the best known and most influential minis-

ter of his denomination in the State, and the most widely known out of the State. His presence at councils and his services on public occasions were eagerly sought and highly appreciated. It was well understood, though never proclaimed by him, that more than one Institution of learning would have been glad to secure him upon its Faculty, and it was but the confirmation of an earlier decoration by the public at large, when his Alma Mater in 1867 conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

During the last years of his life, Dr. Lord added to his other labors in the cause of religion a large amount of editorial work upon the *Vermont Chronicle*, the organ of the Congregational body. His contributions to the paper were marked by the same strength of thought and brilliancy of finish which characterized his sermons. He excelled equally in the crisp, racy paragraph for which the *Chronicle* became famous, and in the sustained editorial discussion in which he displayed a vigorous and masterful grasp of many of the leading questions of the time. His articles for the *Princeton Review*, elaborated probably with more care than anything else from his pen, it would be difficult to match for brilliancy of literary execution in any American magazine, secular or religious. It is understood that during the last months of his life he was engaged in preparing for the press a life of his father, which, however, he did not live to complete.

But how shall I fittingly speak of him as a friend? His capacity for friendship was one of the most wonderful things in him. Cold, narrow natures are incapable of friendships. Average human beings are content with two or three. But here was a man who, though very choice in his friendships, was a most bountiful lover of other men, and was most devotedly

loved by them. His friends were from all classes of society ; from all religious denominations ; from all vocations : but all were the select men of their class, so that to have been his friend was a not unenviable distinction. Among that number I cannot justly mention myself, but I am privileged to quote from one who for many years enjoyed the closest intimacy with him, and whom among all his friends, I think, Mr. Lord would himself have chosen to speak of him on this point. Rev. Frederick W. Shelton, an Episcopal clergyman, now resident in the State of New York, writes of him : “ He was the *animae dimidium meae*—open-hearted, open-handed, liberal as the day. Nothing sordid or narrow minded entered into the texture or composition of his soul. From the peculiarity of our relations and the affinities which drew me to him from the start, I was favored in my intercourse with him, perhaps, even beyond those who had superior claims. To know a man as I knew him is, in most cases, to dissolve the charm of companionship and to be acquainted too well. Yet I can say of him that he was one of whom I never wearied, whose converse was always fresh and fruitful and suggestive, and whose mind was subject to no changes. Instead of betraying any weakness or imperfection, he grew in my estimation and became perpetually a stronger man. An intercourse of twelve years with scarce the intermission of a day was broken never by the slightest coldness, by a single misapprehension or doubtful act on his part, and I declare that I never could find in him or with him any fault at all. If he had not been distinguished by intellectual gifts of a high order, I would have found in him that which was dearer still, and my admiration of him would have been no less. It seemed to me that the solidity of his acquisitions and the brilliancy of his parts were almost dimmed by the grander

nobility of his soul." If these seem almost romantic expressions of attachment between man and man, I venture to affirm that they would be endorsed, every syllable of them, by other friends, by Eastman, if he were alive, by Gregory Smith and Stewart and Phelps, and a long list of men in whom he inspired a love for himself like that of Jonathan for David, passing the love of women.

From the time of Dr. Lord's settlement in Montpelier, I have dropped the form of biography, because apart from his personal and domestic history, his life and his ministry were one. I must now, however, resume the narrative from the point when, in 1868, suffering the consequences of responsibility assumed too early and carried too anxiously, his system began to show signs of breaking down, and he was persuaded to take a vacation tour in Europe. This trip he intensely enjoyed. His noble presence and delightful conversational gifts gained for him access to some of the most cultivated circles of English society, especially at Oxford, where he had an opportunity rarely enjoyed by Americans of studying some of the least understood phases of Anglican Christianity, the results of which study he embodied in his article on the "English Pulpit" in the *Princeton Review*. Under the influence of a change of climate, new occupations, and partial respite from care, his health revived. But, like Goldsmith's traveller, he carried an untravelled heart. His family were far away. Bethany church, the hope of a lifetime, was taking shape in stone and mortar. A mere supply was occupying his pulpit. So, after a brief run through Europe, he hastened home before his recovery had been completely established. Still he called himself well; preached with all his wonted freshness and vigor; saw Bethany church completed, fit memorial, though he knew it not, of his own service for Him

in whose honor it was built; and in spite of new calls to other churches, continued for eight more years to dwell among his own people. According to the testimony of this people he never preached with such earnestness, solemnity and power as during these last years. But to the eyes of his friends he was evidently breaking down; not so much ageing—for his mental and moral powers showed no signs of decay—as giving way to some hidden destroyer. A terrible calamity, resulting in the loss of a little daughter tenderly loved by him, prostrated him so completely, both physically and mentally, that it was a long time before he recovered from the shock, if he ever did. The specific disease of which he died was a question which baffled his physicians. If he did not die of a broken heart, it is at least true that the terrible grief which came upon him was more than his constitution, already undermined, could bear. On Sunday, March 18, 1877, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, in the thirtieth of his pastorate, the gifted man, the powerful preacher, the beloved pastor, the brilliant writer, the genial friend, passed away from earth to heaven, and in doing so made earth seem poorer for his going from it, and heaven richer for his entering it, to a great multitude of men and women, who devoutly hope to see him again where he now is. And so to all who knew Dr. Lord, especially to those who knew him as teacher, pastor and friend, I commit his memory in his own words, from among the last he spoke to his people: "There are things which I will never willingly let die. The dead past may bury its dead deep as it pleases; I will help to throw over it the ashes of oblivion. But the living past shall have many a resurrection in my thoughts, and its holy memories shall come gliding into my spirit, as angels of God, to bring me nearer to Him."

At the request of President BUCKHAM, I have prepared the following list of Dr. LORD's publications, as an appendix to the Address. The list includes, I think, all of his published works, with the possible exception of one or two.

M. D. GILMAN,
Librarian Vt. Historical Society.

1. A Sermon on occasion of the death of Hon. John McLean. Preached in Cabot, Vt., Feb. 7, 1855. *Montpelier*: 1855.

2. Remembrance of the Righteous. A Sermon on occasion of the death of Gen. Ezekiel P. Walton. Preached at Montpelier, Vt., Nov. 29, 1855. *Montpelier*: 1856.

3. The Present and the Future. A Sermon on occasion of the death of Mrs. Lucretia Prentiss, wife of Hon. Samuel Prentiss. Preached at Montpelier, June 17, 1855. *Montpelier*: 1855.

4. A Tract for the Times. National Hospitality.
Montpelier: 1855. Pp. 48.

5. Life, Death, Immortality. A Sermon on the death of Samuel Prentiss, LL. D. Preached in the Congregational Church, in Montpelier, January 18, 1857. *Montpelier*: 1858.

6. A City which hath Foundations. A Sermon preached on occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Organization of the First Congregational Church in Montpelier, July 25, 1858. *Montpelier*: 1858.

7. A Sermon on occasion of the death of Hon. Ferrand F. Merrill. Preached in the Congregational Church, Montpelier, May 8, 1859. *Montpelier*: 1859.

8. A Sermon on the Causes and Remedy of the National Troubles. Preached at Montpelier, April 4th, 1861. *Montpelier*: 1861.

9. A Sermon on occasion of the death of Rev. James Hobart. Preached in the Congregational Church, Berlin, Vt., July 18, 1862. *Montpelier*: 1862.

10. In Memoriam. Address at the funeral of Mrs. James T. Thurston, Montpelier, April 3, 1865. *Montpelier*: 1865.

11. The Uses of the Material Temple. A Sermon preached at the Dedication of Bethany Church, Montpelier, Oct. 15, 1868. *Montpelier*: 1868.

12. Address and Services at the funeral of Dea. Constant W. Storrs, Montpelier, March 26, 1872. *Montpelier*: 1872.

13. Woman's Mission for Christ. A Sermon preached at the funeral of Mrs. James R. Langdon, at Montpelier, Aug. 3, 1873. *Montpelier*: 1873.

14. Sketch of the Life of Hon. Samuel Prentiss, published in the *United States Law Magazine*.

Also, two or more articles in the *Princeton Review*. His connection with the *Vermont Chronicle* as editor for a number of years is noticed by President BUCKHAM in his Address.

THE FIRST
LEGISLATURE OF VERMONT.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
AT MONTPELIER, OCT. 15, 1878,

BY HON. E. P. WALTON.

THE FIRST LEGISLATURE OF VERMONT.

THE theme assigned to me is the first legislature of Vermont, which met at Windsor on the 12th of March, 1778, and again, by adjournment, at Bennington on the 4th of the succeeding June. The present legislature is therefore the first in the second century of Vermont as an organized state, and this occasion has been fitly chosen to commemorate its oldest predecessor. Permit me to add, in the presence of many representatives of the people and officers of the state, an earnest wish, that the first legislature of Vermont's second century will, by its wisdom and virtue, its decorum and dignity, and a prompt but prudent dispatch of its business, furnish an example worthy of imitation by all that shall succeed it.

The first legislature was the child of the constitution of July 1777; and the constitution was the child of the general conventions, to which, from 1771 until December 1777, the care of the most important interests of the people had been committed. These conventions consisted at first of committees of safety appointed by the several towns; but, in 1776 and 1777, of delegates elected by the towns, on warrants issued by a committee previously appointed for that purpose. The exigencies of that period were such as to demand the services of the ablest.

wisest and bravest men in every town. They were to defend the title of the people to the land they had bought and improved—to win the independence of the state—to form a permanent system of government—and finally, seconded by the early legislatures, to defend their territory against a foreign foe, and aid the country at large in its emancipation from the British crown. We cannot doubt, then, that the best men of the several towns constituted the general conventions, and in the name and by the authority of the people, devised the plans which founded and protected the state. These conventions were authorized and controlled by no written constitution; they were not a privilege extorted from king or congress, but an assertion of the right of the people to govern themselves in their own way. There were no fixed times for the elections and meetings of the delegates, but every emergency was promptly met, and the elections and meetings were consequently frequent.

This mode of government, giving supreme power to one body, doubtless seems strange to those of us, now the majority, who have been born and bred under a very different system; but it is the most ancient form of democratic government in the world, and it is pleasant to find that all the noblest nations of the earth owe the democratic part of their constitutions to the race from which ourselves, and a large majority of the people of this nation, have descended. More than two thousand years ago, antedating the little republic of San Marino more than five hundred years, the tribal and national gemots or councils of Germany corresponded almost exactly with the general conventions and first general assembly of Vermont. Germany, characterized by a modern writer as "the standard-bearer and treasurer of civilization," was ruled by its freemen. Every freeman was entitled to sit and act in the tribal and national

councils as soon as he was capable of bearing arms; though from the necessities of the case we must suppose that the national councils were composed ultimately of delegates. They elected leaders, sometimes called kings, sometimes princes; and they had their wisest and bravest men as councillors; "without, however, resigning the natural rights of man." These councils were summoned at fixed periods, and on sudden emergencies, and the free vote of the members decided on public offences, the election of magistrates, on war or peace; for though the leaders were allowed to discuss all subjects, the right of deciding and executing was solely with the freemen. The Angles and Saxons transferred the German gemots to England, and from that day to this the freemen of England have been the supreme power in the land. It was a gemot, composed of the barons and peasantry of England, which extorted from King John the great charter of the liberties of the people, that is still the constitution of the realm, and secures to the House of Commons supremacy in the government. From England the supremacy of the freemen came to America, and became the inheritance of the founders of Vermont.*

I have not designed this reference to the gemots of Germany and England as a digression from the topic assigned to me, but rather as an introduction to, and illustration of, the first constitution and legislature of this state.

As in the ancient German and Anglo-Saxon gemots, the exclusive legislative power was in the freemen, or their representatives, and the advisory and executive powers in the councils, kings, princes or chiefs, but all subject to the freemen, so was it for more than half a century in Vermont. Our first constitution was substantially a copy of Pennsylvania's, and that, in

*Tacitus, Ger. § 11, cited in Sharon Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, book VIII, chap. iv; and Encyclopædia Americana, title History of Germany.

many of its material parts, was but a copy of the frame of government, founded on the English standard, and accorded by Charles the Second to William Penn and his colony. Little gratitude, however, may be due to the king, since the execution of his father by the parliament, for his usurpations, may have been a sufficient inducement to the son to grant to his subjects in Pennsylvania the same privileges he was compelled to accord to the freemen of England. One vast difference, however, is to be noted, to the infinite credit of the founders of our State. The privileges of the German and Anglo-Saxon gemots were limited to freemen, when in both countries a large majority of the people were serfs or slaves; whereas, in Vermont, *all* were free—slavery, for the first time in America, was prohibited by Vermont.

As the first constitution of Vermont is now accessible in almost every organized town of the State, in the first volume of the records of the Governor and Council, it will suffice for the purposes of this paper to cite only a few sections. The first makes a Governor, Deputy Governor, Council, and an Assembly of the Representatives of the Freemen, the governing power of the State; the second provides that "the supreme legislative power shall be vested in a House of Representatives of the Freemen," then denominated the General Assembly; the third that "the supreme executive power shall be vested in a Governor and Council;" and the fourteenth that "all bills of public nature shall be first laid before the Governor and Council for their perusal and proposals of amendment, and shall be printed for the consideration of the people, before they are read in General Assembly for the last time of debate and amendment; except temporary acts, which, after being laid before the Governor and Council, may (in case of sudden necessity) be passed into

laws." This revisory power of the Governor and Council over bills was subsequently extended so as to permit that body to suspend, until after the election of another Assembly, such bills as were not approved—a mode of submitting disputable cases to the people which was occasionally adopted. The eighteenth section required the Governor and Council "to prepare such business as may appear to them necessary to lay before the General Assembly"—and the Governor and Council did, on request, prepare bills for the Assembly; and on more than one occasion met and voted with it on matters upon which the Assembly could come to no satisfactory conclusion.

It thus appears that the representatives of the freemen of the several towns, in General Assembly convened, had supreme legislative power, which now they share with the Senate; and that the functions of the Governor and Council, in respect to the Assembly, were simply advisory. The governor submitted his views on public matters in an annual speech, delivered in person in a joint assembly of the two houses—a custom which of late has usually been discarded for a written message. As the Senate and House now do, the two houses then sent bills, each to the other, for consideration; but in respect to amendments, on which the two houses were not agreed, both had a custom which may possibly be restored with advantage: it was for each house to inform the other, verbally by one of its members, or by a written message, of the reasons of the disagreement. Obviously this method enabled each house to understand correctly the views of the other, and the records abundantly prove that the result very often was to harmonize both.

Another difference from our present system deserves notice. The Governor, Deputy Governor and Councillors constituted one body, called the Governor and Council—the Governor in

the chair, having a casting vote when the Council was equally divided; and the Deputy Governor acting as Governor in the absence of that officer, and in his presence as a Councillor. The particular difference to which I refer is, that the Council was a board of advisers to the Governor in all executive matters, and, in cases of urgent importance, it was specially summoned to act in that capacity. It cannot be doubted that the abolition of the Council has been a great loss to the Governor, who, in the multitude of petitions for the pardon of criminals, as well as in matters of much greater delicacy and importance, must often keenly feel the need of authorized and responsible advisers. As to petitions for pardon, the ancient custom for many years relieved the Governor almost entirely, every case being decided by a vote of the Council by yeas and nays.

I now give a list of the persons who composed the first legislature, so far as I have been able to ascertain, premising that the titles are those used in 1778. And first of the

COUNCIL OF SAFETY.

The constitution provided that the Council of Safety, appointed by the General Convention of July, 1777, should "supply the place of a Council for the next General Assembly, until the new Council be declared chosen." Eight of the twelve members of the Council of Safety are known to have been present on the 12th of March, 1778, to wit: Col. Thomas Chittenden, *President*, of Williston, but then of Arlington, for which town he was a member elect to the General Assembly. Capt. Ira Allen of Colchester, but then of Sunderland; Col. Benjamin Carpenter of Guilford, and Nathan Clark of Bennington, each a member elect to the Assembly; and Col. Timothy Brownson of Sunderland, Maj. Jeremiah Clark of Shaftsbury, Doct. Jonas Fay of Bennington, and Doct. Paul Spooner of Hartland,

who were of the committee to canvass the votes for State officers. The constitution required the appointment of this committee "out of the Council, and Assembly." In the roll of the Council of Safety, in Vol. I of the records of the Governor and Council, Jeremiah Clark of Shaftsbury was recorded as having been "probably" a member; but as Mr. Clark could not have been a member of the Assembly, Shaftsbury being fully represented by other persons, it is now certain that he was a member of the Council of Safety. In the same roll, Matthew Lyon, then of Arlington, was recorded as having been "probably" a member; but as Col. Timothy Brownson of Sunderland was not a member of the first Assembly, and was one of the canvassing committee, it is now certain that he was, and Lyon was not, a member of the Council of Safety. These conclusions cannot now be doubted, except upon the monstrous assumption that the Assembly, in its first act after its organization for business, grossly violated a plain requirement of the constitution. I cannot dismiss that body of noble men without saying, that they were selected because of eminent services in the General Conventions, and perfect confidence in their patriotism, sagacity, and energy. Their untiring exertions in the campaign of 1777 fully justified that confidence, and the subsequent retention of nearly all of them in important offices, proves the high estimate of their character entertained by the people of the State.

GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL.

The roll of that body was as follows: Col. Thomas Chittenden of Williston, then of Arlington, *Governor*. He was transferred from the Assembly. Col. Joseph Marsh of Hartford, *Deputy Governor*—he was transferred from the Assembly. *Councillors*—Col. Ira Allen of Colchester, then residing in Sunderland; Gen. Jacob Bayley of Newbury; Hon. Joseph Bow-

ker of Rutland, who was transferred from the speaker's chair in the Assembly; Col. Timothy Brownson of Sunderland; Col. Benjamin Carpenter of Guilford—who was transferred from the Assembly; Maj. Jeremiah Clark of Shaftsbury; Benjamin Emmons, Esq., of Woodstock; Doct. Jonas Fay of Bennington; Maj. Thomas Murdock of Norwich; Col. Peter Olcott of Norwich—who was transferred from the Assembly; Col. Moses Robinson of Bennington, and Doct. Paul Spooner of Hartland. *Secretary of Council*, and also *Secretary of State*, Maj. Thomas Chandler, Jr., of Chester. *Deputy Secretary of the Council* April 9 to the close of the session, Matthew Lyon, then of Arlington.

Of the sixteen persons, members and officers, constituting the executive body, six were born in Connecticut, five in Massachusetts, and one in Ireland—leaving four whose birth-places I have not ascertained. The Governor, and eight of the twelve Councillors, had been members of the Council of Safety.

Of the first Council, and indeed of a very large majority that succeeded it, no man living can speak from personal knowledge. but the record of all has been preserved, and it is an honorable record. In the first fifty-nine State elections, all the Governors but five were selected from the Council; and an examination of the list of Councillors will show a long line of other officers of high dignity, such as Deputy Governors, Senators and Members of Congress, and Judges of the Supreme Court. Born in the village where the Governor and Council long sat, and interested at an early age in public men and the doings of the legislature, I personally remember many of the men who composed the last twelve Councils, and vividly I remember the old Council chamber. When I entered it, I walked softly, for there sat grave, earnest, but quiet men, inspiring me with the awe I im-

agine I should feel in entering an ancient cathedral, full of sacred scenes, and memorials of the great and good perpetuated in sculptured marble. Surely the Governor and Council was eminent for ability, integrity, and wisdom; and as I remember it I must testify, that for dignity it was not surpassed by the United States Senate, when I first saw it, in the days of Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Silas Wright, Prentiss, and Benton. But the members of the Council were by no means ascetic or aristocratic. Religious men, as a body, they had the charity, the fidelity to every trust, and the generous sentiments that are the outgrowth of true religion. The first Governor Chittenden was terribly earnest in protecting the infant State from every foe, whether from within or without, but tradition tells us that he was hospitable, generous to the needy to the full measure of his ability, genial, and of a ready wit. Governor Tichenor was the most accomplished gentleman of his time in Vermont, and of ways so winning, that the people again and again made him Governor, when the entire list of Councillors and a majority of the Assembly, chosen on the same day, were politically opposed to him. In later days, within my remembrance, the Baptist Elder Leland, and the Methodist Olin, both members of the Council as Lieut. Governor, were decidedly jolly men, full of wit that effectually seconded their wisdom. And I am sure that even the gravest of our governors, the Baptist Elder, Ezra Butler, was not unfrequently provoked by the jollity of his Baptist brother Leland, to respond with as keen wit and sharper sarcasm.

No part of the record of the Governor and Council was ever printed until recently, when the work of printing it, with such documents as could be found touching the early history of the State, was committed to me, and has been nearly completed.

Thus I have been necessarily brought to a knowledge of that body from the beginning, and in justice to the men who composed it, I have felt myself bound to record this tribute.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

The list of officers of what is now known as the House of Representatives, but was originally styled the General Assembly, has been gathered from the official record, to wit: *Speaker*, Hon. Joseph Bowker of Rutland, who was the President of the Convention which adopted the constitution; *Clerk*, Maj. Thomas Chandler jr. of Chester. Both of these were transferred from the Assembly to the Council on the first sitting of that body on the 13th of March 1778. When these vacancies had been filled and other officers added, the organization of the Assembly embraced the following persons: *Speaker*, Hon. Nathan Clark of Bennington; *Clerk*, Benjamin Baldwin of Bradford; *Assistant Clerks*, Doct. Reuben Jones of Rockingham, Doct. Samuel King of Marlborough, and Col. John Barrett of Springfield, the clerk and his assistants being all members of the house; *Monitor*, Elijah Alvord of Wilmington; *Sheriff*, Capt. John Benjamin; and *Constable*, Gideon Cowls, probably both of Windsor. The business of monitor is to be surmised rather than described. We may safely assume that a Speaker, Sheriff, and Constable were sufficient to preserve order in a body consisting probably of less than seventy-five persons. In some of the subsequent legislatures, "no work, no pay," was the rule, and it may have been in the first; so one of the duties of the monitor may have been to note those members who were absent without leave, to the end that a just settlement might be made at the close of the session. The new members of a legislative body are apt to cling to the coat-tails, as the phrase is, of those of more experience in whom they confide, and it is wise to do so. Perhaps Mr. Alvord was

appointed monitor because of special qualifications to act as guide and friend to the neophytes who sat with him. The first legislature must have had some members new to its business; though I am confident that even that body had more men in it, in proportion to its number of members, accustomed to its work in general conventions, and legislative bodies of other states, than any of the most recent legislatures of Vermont have had.

No roll of the representatives in the first General Assembly was entered upon the record, neither were the yeas and nays recorded; so it will probably never be possible to gather a complete one. The following list was made, from such sources as were accessible, by the late Leonard Deming of Middlebury, and printed in 1851. It seems to be correct so far as it goes, and is arranged by counties as they now are.

Bennington County.

Arlington, Col. Thomas Chittenden, who was transferred to the executive chair; *Bennington*, Nathan Clark, who was *Speaker*, and Capt. John Fassett senior; *Dorset*, Deac. Cephas Kent; *Manchester*, Stephen Washburn and Lieut. Gideon Ormsby; *Pownal*, Lieut. Thomas Jewett; *Rupert*, Moses Robinson; *Shaftsbury*, John Burnham and Maj. Gideon Olin.

Windham County.

Dummerston, Lieut. Leonard Spaulding; *Guilford*, Col. Benjamin Carpenter, who was transferred to the Council, and Maj. John Shepardson; *Halifax*, Ensign Edward Harris and Hubbell Wells; *Londonderry*, Deac. Edward Aiken; *Marlborough*, Doct. Samuel King; *Rockingham*, Joshua Webb and Doct. Reuben Jones; *Townshend*, Col. Samuel Fletcher; *Westminster*, Nathaniel Robinson; *Whitingham*, Silas Hamilton; *Wilmington*, Elijah Alvord.

Windsor County.

Barnard, Capt. Edmond Hodges; *Cavendish*, John Coffein; *Chester*, Maj. Thomas Chandler jr., who was *Secretary* of the Council and of *State*; *Hartland*, Capt. William Gallup; *Pomfret*, John Winchester Dana; *Springfield*, Col. John Barrett; *Weathersfield*, Israel Burlingame; *Windsor*, Capt. Ebenezer Curtis and Deac. Thomas Cooper; *Woodstock*, Capt. John Strong.

Rutland County.

Brandon, Capt. Thomas Tuttle; *Castleton*, Zadock Remington; *Clarendon*, Abner Lewis; *Danby*, Capt. Thomas Rowley; *Pawlet*, Capt. Zadock Everest; *Pittsford*, Jonathan Fassett; *Poultney*, Deac. William Ward; *Rutland*, Capt. Joseph Bowker, who was transferred to the Council, and Capt. John Smith; *Tinmouth*, Charles Brewster; *Wallingford*, Deac. Abraham Jackson; *Wells*, Daniel Culver.

Orange County.

Bradford, Benjamin Baldwin, who was *Clerk* of the Assembly; *Newbury*, Col. Jacob Kent and Capt. John G. D. Bailey; *Thetford*, Timothy Bartholomew.

Caledonia County.

Barnet, Col. Alexander Harvey.

Of the persons named in the foregoing list, Capt. Thomas Tuttle of Brandon and Zadock Remington of Castleton were "dismissed or expelled" the House, June 12 1778. Brandon was not an organized town at that time; and it is recorded of Mr. Remington that "during the revolutionary war he was thought by some to be a little inclined to the British interests, or at least to look timidly upon the struggle of the colonies."

A brother of his was arrested, convicted, and punished as a tory.*

I add to Deming's list the following names, now given for the first time in any roll.

Bennington County.

Dorset, Col. John Strong. June 12 1778 it was "Voted, that Col. Strong keep his seat in this House." Col. John Strong of Addison then resided in Dorset, represented it in the Assembly 1779 until 1783, and sat in the Council seventeen years.

Sunderland, Joseph Bradley. I admit this name on the authority of a history of Sunderland in Vol. I of the Vermont Historical Magazine. Mr. Bradley was grandfather of a very energetic business man and politician of Burlington, the late Harry Bradley.

Windsor County.

Hartford, Joseph Marsh, who was transferred to the Council as Deputy Governor.

Norwich, Col. Peter Olcott, who was transferred to the Council, and Jacob Burton.

Messrs. Marsh and Olcott were not members of the Council of Safety, and were appointed on the canvassing committee; hence it is evident that they sat as representatives on the first day of the session. Mr. Burton was appointed on the committee to report rules of the House, and subsequently represented Norwich.

Sharon, Capt. Daniel Gilbert. March 19 1778 it was "Voted, to dismiss Daniel Gilbert from this Assembly for the present, for certain reasons, &c." This must be construed as simply a

* *Vermont Historical Magazine*, Vol. III, pp. 505-6; and *Governor and Council*, Vol. I, pp. 165, 281.

leave of absence, and probably for military service. Other military gentlemen of the House were dismissed, or had leave of absence, in like manner.

Orange County.

Strafford, Joshua Tucker. The record of March 13 1778 is, "that Joshua Tuck have liberty to return home;" but I do not find that name in the early records, and infer that Joshua Tucker, a selectman of Strafford in 1778, was the person intended. Strafford was not organized until five days after the meeting of the legislature, and that may have been good ground for releasing Mr. Tucker.

Representatives of towns not certainly known.

I now add the names of the following representatives, whose residence in 1778 is not certainly known:

Lieut. Joseph Safford.—March 20 1778, it was "Voted, that Lieut. Joseph Safford have leave of absence, on reasons offered to this House." A letter of his in 1781 was dated at Arlington, which town was entitled to two members and had but one in Deming's list.

Capt. John Coughran.—March 26 1778, it was "Voted, that Capt. John Coughran have leave of absence for the present." A year later, *Lieut. John Coughran* was in Dorset; but that town was fully represented without him.

Doct. Thomas Amsden.—March 26 1778, "Doct. Amsden", was appointed on a committee with two known members, to copy acts of the legislature for the information of the people. Thomas Amsden rendered an account for that service, dated at Dummerston, which was allowed by the governor to "Doct. Amsden." Dummerston was probably entitled to two members in March 1778, and had but one in Deming's list.

Simeon Chandler.—June 12 1778, it was “Voted, that Mr. Simeon Chandler retain or keep his seat in this House.” Simeon Chandler of Arlington settled in Middlebury in 1775, but was forced by the invasions of 1776–7 to leave that town. It is hardly safe to assume that he returned to Arlington and was one of the representatives of that town in 1778, since it is equally probable that Joseph Safford was the additional member of that town. Mr. Chandler resumed his settlement at Middlebury in 1779, as in April of that year he signed a certificate as “constable of Middlebury.” In 1798 he removed to the northern part of the state.

Capt. John Maston.—The record of June 13 1778 is, that “Capt. John Maston took his seat in this Assembly.” I have found no other trace of this name.

Moses Johnson. March 14 1778, it was “Voted, that Moses Johnson be dismissed this House.” Putney had a citizen of that name from 1764 until 1776, and probably until his death about 1783. That town was possibly entitled to two members, and had none in Deming’s list.

From the foregoing it appears that fifty towns were represented in the first legislature, by sixty-three members—thus showing that thirteen towns had two members each. It is probable that seventeen towns were entitled to two members each, but for three of these only one member has been found. At least three should therefore be added to the probable number of representatives, making in all only sixty-six. Thus fifty towns were represented, including those whose representatives were ultimately excluded, while the state has now two hundred and forty-one towns entitled to representation; showing that less

than one fourth of the existing towns were represented in the first Assembly.

By the first constitution, each town having eighty taxable inhabitants was entitled to two representatives for the first septenary, and all others one. Of the fifty towns entitled to representation in 1778, seventeen had eighty or more taxable inhabitants. These were Arlington, Bennington, Dorset, Manchester, Pownal, Rupert and Shaftsbury, in the county of Bennington; Dummerston, Guilford, Halifax, Rockingham, and Westminster, in the county of Windham; Norwich, Windsor, and Woodstock, in the county of Windsor; Rutland in the county of Rutland; and Newbury in the county of Orange. The remaining thirty-three towns represented in 1778 had, each, less than eighty taxable inhabitants. Of the present fourteen counties only six were represented; and of these Caledonia had but one representative. So it appears that the present counties of Addison, Chittenden, Essex, Franklin, Grand Isle, Lamoille, Orleans, and Washington were not represented in the first General Assembly.

Assuming that the fifty towns first represented had an average of one hundred taxable inhabitants, and a population five times greater than that—which is near the fact—the population of the State in 1778 did not exceed twenty-five thousand. The Rev. Zadock Thompson estimated it at twenty thousand in 1776, and the Rev. Dr. Samuel Williams at thirty thousand in 1783. It seems reasonable to conclude, that Vermont, in its first century, has multiplied its population by twelve, making an average addition of more than thirty thousand in each ten years. This rate of increase can hardly be maintained in the century upon which we have just entered; certainly not, unless the wives of Vermont, like their great grandmothers, and Jewish

wives in all the ages since the days of Abraham, shall esteem it their highest honor to be the mothers of many children.

I must not neglect to say, that in the election of the first representatives, the people undoubtedly heeded that provision of the constitution which required, and still requires, the selection of "persons most noted for wisdom and virtue." Many of the first representatives had been delegates in the preceding conventions, to which the care of the highest interests of the people had been committed; and many of them subsequently filled honorable and useful offices. It would not be difficult to extend this paper, by a statement of the public services of the men who constituted the first legislature; but I pass to the last topic, which is the work of that body.

It began its work under great difficulties. There was not a lawyer in either house to draft bills and criticise the work of unskilful hands. John Burnham represented Shaftsbury, and became a successful pettifogger, but in June 1778 he had but recently bought his copy of Blackstone. Some members, like Governor Chittenden, had probably served as representatives and magistrates in the states from which they came; but if any other aid was available, it must have come from some lawyer in the lobby—a sort of aid by no means rare in our own day, but certainly much rarer then. There was, then, no state library, with precedents in printed acts, reports, and legislative journals, which are abundantly supplied to the legislators of this day. Indeed there is proof of only one book in the possession of the first legislature; and that was the statute-book of Connecticut—furnished, I venture to guess, by Governor Chittenden. Courts were to be established and judges appointed, but no lawyer could be placed on the bench, and no Vermont lawyer was placed there until the election of Nathaniel Chipman

in 1786.* The lawyers were so few that their services were required at the bar; and the decision of cases was necessarily left to the good judgment of honest and intelligent farmers, for the most part, with occasionally Doctors Paul Spooner and Jonas Fay, and the Rev. and Hon. Nathaniel Niles, who in early life had been "a student of law, physic, and theology," but in Vermont was most widely known and highly honored as a politician. He has been styled, for his learning, the *Athenian* of eastern Vermont.

Again, the time was unpropitious for the deliberation desirable in organizing a new government. Burgoyne's invasion dispersed the convention of July 1777, and forced it to adopt the constitution without debate. War was exacting also during the two sessions of the first legislature. Burgoyne's splendid army had been captured by continental troops, aided largely by the Green Mountain Boys; but in 1778 the continental troops had been removed to the south, even Warner's Vermont regiment being sent to Albany, so the State was left solely to its own resources for defence, against a large body of British troops and Indians, then hovering on the northern frontier and commanding Lake Champlain through a naval force. Several of the members of the Assembly were necessarily dismissed for military service, and no doubt all were anxious to be at home in readiness for any emergency. The two sessions were therefore short, each occupying only thirteen working days. In spite of all obstacles, however, the first legislature met its high duties promptly, bravely and successfully. Its acts were not recorded, printed or preserved; it was provided that they

*During the second union with New Hampshire towns, Simeon Olcott of Charlestown, N. H., was placed upon the bench and held the office nominally for a few months. He was an eminent lawyer and judge.

should be temporary: but from the brief entries of votes in the journals of the two houses, an account of the most important matters attended to has been gathered.

The earliest action after the organization was to provide for paying the Rangers, who had been raised by orders of the General Conventions or the Council of Safety; and another vote was to pay the surgeons, who had attended to the wounded at the battle of Bennington. The vote in respect to paying the Rangers was given a much broader scope, by adding the words "and all other Just debts of this State"—thus indicating that the first legislature of Vermont fully believed in two excellent rules for both states and citizens, to wit: "Honesty is the best policy"—"Pay as you go."

Much of the work of both houses related to the defence of the state, and the action to be noticed under this head is an organization of the militia, which temporarily consisted of two regiments west and three east of the mountains; the reinforcement of Warner's continental regiment; the guarding the military stores at Bennington; the raising of troops from eastern and western Vermont to defend the frontiers; the supplying the towns with gunpowder, lead and flints; and provisions for securing and taking care of Tories.

Ample provisions were made for the administration of civil affairs, and first in importance was an act to adopt the common law of England. This act, as it was afterward re-enacted, contained but a few sections, but it embraced volumes of law for the protection of the persons and property of the people, and necessitated the immediate adoption of much machinery. The state was therefore divided into two counties, Bennington and Cumberland; Bennington comprising western Vermont and having two shires, styled Bennington and Rutland; and Cum-

berland county embracing eastern Vermont, and having two shires, styled Newbury and Westminster. Courts were established in each shire, five judges were appointed in each, provision was made for state's attornies, and the Governor and Council appointed temporary clerks for the courts, and also county surveyors. The first regular superior court was appointed by the second legislature, but the first legislature provided special courts in each shire temporarily. Probate districts and courts, and what were styled inferior courts, being courts of justices of the peace, were also provided for, and the election of the judges of probate courts, justices of the peace, and sheriff's, was committed to the people.

The legislation relating to towns consisted of an act fixing a day for the election of town officers; an act relating to highways; and an act for making a grand list. These lists were used mainly for town purposes. No state tax on the grand list was imposed until 1781, and that was for the defence of the state, the payment of its debts, and the redemption, *in specie*, of bills of credit issued by the state.

The acts of general interest were, one to preserve all the white pine timber suitable for masts; another to preserve all the timber on the governor's lots reserved in the New Hampshire charters; another granting a premium for the destruction of wolves; another fixing the Lord's day on the first day of the week, and doubtless to enforce its observance, such an act having been passed in 1779; and another to prevent the counterfeiting bills of credit, doubtless meaning bills issued by the continental Congress and on the authority of the several states.

One special act only appears, to wit, "preventing some individuals catching all the fish that pass and repass up and down White River, so-called." This matter occupied both ses-

sions, and thus seems to have been considered of much importance; and so indeed it was, if, as is presumable, it was designed to protect the spawning-beds of the salmon and other valuable fish, and perpetuate what was then a very considerable source of the support of the people.

I have not alluded to the controversy then existing between Vermont on the one part, and New York and New Hampshire on the other, which to some extent then divided the people of Vermont, and undoubtedly was a source of much anxiety to the legislature. The adherence of a part of the people to New York culminated in rebellion against Vermont, and in anticipation of that, two acts were passed, to wit: "An act for the punishing high treason and other atrocious crimes, as said act stands in the Connecticut law-book," and "An act against treacherous conspiracies, as said act stands in the Connecticut law-book." Evidently these acts were designed to maintain the authority of the state in all the territory over which it had assumed jurisdiction. Still another act, instigated by citizens of New Hampshire, with the approval of leading men in eastern Vermont, was for the first union of sundry New Hampshire towns with Vermont. The legislature submitted this matter to the people at its first session, and at the second, having received an affirmative vote, the union was consummated, and led to the union of a much greater number of New Hampshire towns, and a large section of the territory of New York. Designed in part perhaps as retaliation against the two opposing states, it is to be presumed that higher motives were, to enlarge and strengthen Vermont for defence, and to extort, if by persuasion it could not win, its independence and sovereignty.

I have already said, that no state tax was voted until 1781. Now I have to add, that efficient substitutes were provided by

the first legislature, in creating and appointing a special superior court for banishing tories, and authorizing the Governor and Council "to dispose of tory estates." This work had been commenced and prosecuted vigorously and successfully by the Council of Safety in 1777, furnishing means for raising and supporting the force which defeated Baum at Bennington, aided in the capture of Burgoyne's army, and drove the enemy from Lake George and Ticonderoga into Canada. The sum derived from this source, from July 1777 to October 1786, amounted to £190,433 6 s. 4 d.—being more than three fifths of all the money received in the state treasury between July 1777 and October 1786. Surely the tax-payers of that day must have said, most heartily—"Well done, good and faithful servants." And I think I may safely add, for that piece of patriotic financing, and for all the work of the first legislature of Vermont—SO SAY WE ALL.

Upon the foundation laid by the General Conventions, the first legislature erected the structure of a sovereign State, and on the 18th of June, 1778, adjourned "until his Excellency the Governor commands them to meet." It never met again.

On the adjournment of the Assembly, March 26 1778, the Governor and Council "Voted, that the Hon^{ble} Joseph Marsh Esq^r and the Hon^{ble} Jonas Fay Esq^r be Delegates to Wait on the Hon^{ble} Continental Congress, to announce to that Hon^{ble} body the formation of this State. Likewise voted to invite Col^r Elisha Payne [of Lebanon, N. H.] to accompany the above persons for the purposes above written." I hardly need add, that for thirteen years Vermont was not admitted to either the continental or federal union of the United States, but remained, among all the nations of the earth, a sovereign state, defending itself successfully for five years during the revolu-

tionary war, maintaining its title to independence against New York and New Hampshire, and in 1791 winning a place in the Federal Union which it has ever since adorned.

Counting the invitation of this Society as one designed to "gather up the fragments" of the history of the first legislature, "that nothing may be lost," I have made this paper historical rather than rhetorical, and commit it now to the archives of the Society, with the hope that, so long as the world shall stand, the facts recorded in it shall never be lost.

The Oneida Historical Society.

Article No. *1332*

Description

Proceedings

From

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by C. W Darling

Remarks

C. S.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
VERMONT
HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

OCTOBER 19, 1880.



RUTLAND :
TUTTLE & Co., OFFICIAL STATE PRINTERS,
1880.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives:

That the Secretary of the Senate be directed to procure the printing of twelve hundred and fifty copies of the proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society, Oct. 19, 1880; and of the address of Hon. E. A. Sowles, delivered before that Society and the General Assembly on the evening of said day, together with the address of E. J. Phelps, Esq., on the life and character of Hon. Samuel Prentiss, to be delivered before said Society at its adjourned meeting; to be disposed of as follows: To each member of the Senate and House of Representatives, one copy; to each Town Clerk, one copy; to each College, Normal School, Academy and public library in this State, one copy; to the Governor, each of the heads of departments, and each Judge of the Supreme Court, one copy; to the Vermont Historical Society, four hundred copies; and the remainder to the State Library subject to the control of the Trustees thereof.

JNO. L. BARSTOW,

President of the Senate.

JAMES L. MARTIN,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Approved Oct. 25th, 1880.

ROSWELL FARNHAM, *Governor.*

3917

ACTS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE VERMONT HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

It is hereby enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Vermont, as follows :

SEC. 1. Henry Stevens, of Barnet, in the County of Caledonia, and Oramel H. Smith, Daniel P. Thompson and George B. Manser, of Montpelier, in the County of Washington, and such other persons as have associated and may hereafter associate themselves with them, for the purpose of collecting and preserving materials for the civil and natural history of the State of Vermont, are hereby made a body corporate and politic, by the name of *The Vermont Historical and Antiquarian Society* ; and by that name they, and their successors, may sue and be sued ; and shall be capable in law to take and hold in fee simple, or otherwise, lands, and tenements, and rents, and hereditaments, not exceeding in the whole, the yearly value of two thousand dollars, exclusive of the building or buildings, which may be actually occupied for the purposes of the said corporation ; and they shall also be capable in law, to take, receive and hold, personal estate, to an amount, the yearly value of which shall not exceed the sum of two thousand dollars, exclusive of the books, papers, memorials and other articles com-

posing the library and cabinet of the said corporation ; and shall also have power to sell, demise, exchange, or otherwise dispose of all, or part of their lands, tenements, hereditaments and other property, for the benefit of said corporation, and shall also have a common seal, which they may alter at their pleasure, and shall also have power to make by-laws with suitable penalties, not repugnant to the laws of this State.

SEC. 2. The said corporation shall have power from time to time, as they may think fit, to elect a President and such other officers as they shall judge necessary ; and at their first meeting, they may agree upon the manner of calling future meetings, and proceed to execute all, or any of the powers vested in them by this act.

SEC. 3. The library and cabinet of the said corporation shall be kept in the town of Barnet, in the County of Caledonia.

SEC. 4. The said Henry Stevens is authorized to notify the first meeting of the said corporation by an advertisement thereof, under his hand, for three weeks before such meeting, in any newspaper printed in this State.

Approved November 5, 1838.

AN ACT IN ADDITION TO AN ACT TO INCORPORATE
THE VERMONT HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY.

It is hereby enacted, &c.

SEC. 1. Section three of " An Act to incorporate the Vermont Historical and Antiquarian Society," requiring that the cabinet and library of the said corporation shall be kept in the town of Barnet, in the county of Caledonia, is hereby repealed.

Approved, November 25, 1858.

AN ACT ALTERING THE NAME OF THE VERMONT
HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

It is hereby enacted, &c.

SEC. 1. The Vermont Historical and Antiquarian Society shall hereafter be known as, and called, "*The Vermont Historical Society*," and by that name shall be entitled to the rights and privileges, and subject to the duties granted and imposed by the act incorporating said society, approved Nov. 5, 1838.

SEC. 2. This act shall take effect from its passage.

Approved Nov. 16, 1859.

AN ACT PROVIDING A ROOM IN THE CAPITOL FOR
THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

It is hereby enacted, &c.

SEC. 1. The use of room number nine, used as the general committee room, in the State House, is hereby granted to the Vermont Historical Society, for the preservation of the library, and for the business purposes of said society; said occupancy, at all times, to be under the direction of the sergeant-at-arms, he being directed to prepare the same for the occupancy aforesaid.

SEC. 2. The occupancy of said room, by the said Vermont Historical Society, shall in no wise interfere with the use of said room by committees of the Legislature.

SEC. 3. This act shall at all times be under the control of the Legislature, to amend or repeal, at its discretion.

Approved, November 21, 1859.

AN ACT IN RELATION TO THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

It is hereby enacted, &c.

SEC. 1. Whenever the Vermont Historical Society shall be dissolved, the books, collections, and all the property thereof shall become the exclusive property of the State of Vermont ; and said society shall have no right or power to sell or dispose of any part of its books or collections, except by way of exchange ; and all such sales or disposal shall be void.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of State, the Auditor of Accounts and the State Librarian shall be *ex officio* members of the Historical Society aforesaid, and of the board of curators thereof.

SEC. 3. The sum of two hundred and fifty dollars is hereby appropriated to aid the said Historical Society in the preservation of its valuable collections, and to put the same in suitable condition for examination and use.

SEC. 4. The aforesaid sum of money shall be paid to the curators of said society on the order of the Governor, and said curators shall settle with the Auditor of Accounts for the expenditure of said sum of money.

SEC. 5. This act shall not take effect until the said society shall by a vote thereof at a meeting regularly called and holden accept of and adopt this act.

Approved Nov. 9, 1869.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. This association shall be called "*The Vermont Historical Society*," and shall consist of Resident, Corresponding and Honorary Members.

ARTICLE II. The object of the Society shall be to discover, collect and preserve, whatever may relate to the natural, civil, literary and ecclesiastical history of the State of Vermont, and shall comprise three departments: (1.) *The Historical*, having for its object the preservation of whatever relates to the topography, antiquities, civil, literary and ecclesiastical history of the State: (2.) That of *Natural History*, for the formation of a cabinet of natural productions, and more especially those of VERMONT, and for a library of standard works on the natural sciences: and (3.) the *Horticultural*, for promoting a taste for the cultivation of choice fruits and flowers, and also for collecting works on horticulture and agriculture, in connection with the general library.

ARTICLE III. The officers of the Society, to be elected annually, and by ballot, shall be a President, three Vice Presidents, a Recording Secretary, two Corresponding Secretaries of foreign and domestic correspondence, a Librarian and Cabinet Keeper, a Treasurer, and seven Curators from different counties in the State.

ARTICLE IV. There shall be one annual, and occasional meetings of the Society. The annual meeting for the election of officers, shall be at MONTPELIER on Tuesday preceeding the third

Wednesday of October; the special meetings shall be at such time and place as the Board of Managers shall determine.

ARTICLE V. All members (Honorary and Corresponding members excepted, with whom it shall be optional,) shall pay, on admission, the sum of two dollars, and an additional sum of one dollar annually.

ARTICLE VI. Members shall be elected upon the recommendation of any member of the Society.

ARTICLE VII. This Constitution may be altered or amended at the annual meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the members present, provided notice of the proposed change shall have been given at the next preceding annual meeting.

BY-LAWS.

CHAPTER I.

OF MEMBERS.

1. Members only shall be entitled to vote, or be eligible to any office.

2. No person residing in this State can be a corresponding member. A member on removing from the State may become a corresponding member on giving notice of his removal, and paying all arrears; and a corresponding member cannot continue such after returning to the State for a permanent residence, but may become a resident member.

3. No member, who shall be in arrear for two years, shall be entitled to vote, or to be eligible to any office, and any failure to pay annual dues for two consecutive years, after due notice from the treasurer, shall be considered a forfeiture of membership: and no person thus expunged from the roll of the Society can be eligible to re-admission without the payment of his arrears.

4. No person shall be elected a resident member until he shall have previously signified his desire to become such in writing.

5. The yearly assessment is payable at the annual meeting in October.

CHAPTER II.

OF OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES.

1. The President, or in his absence, the highest officer present, shall preside at all meetings of the Society, and regulate the order thereof, and be ex-officio chairman of the Board of Managers, and when required, give the casting vote.

2. One of the Vice Presidents, with two Curators, shall be a Committee to manage and superintend the Historical Department. Another Vice President, with two Curators, shall be a Committee to manage and superintend the department of Natural History. The other Vice President, with two Curators, shall be a Committee to manage and superintend the department of Horticulture.

3. It shall be the duty of these Committees to make a written report at the annual meeting in October upon the condition of their respective departments.

4. The Recording Secretary shall keep the minutes of all meetings of the Society in a suitable book, and at the opening of each one shall read those of the preceding one. He shall have the custody of the Constitution, By-Laws, Records and all papers of the Society, and shall give notice of the time and place of all meetings of the Society, and shall notify all officers and members of their election, and communicate all special votes of the Society to parties interested therein. In the absence of the Recording Secretary his duty shall be performed by one of the Corresponding Secretaries.

5. The Corresponding Secretaries shall conduct all the correspondence of the Society. They shall preserve on file the originals of all communications addressed to the Society, and keep a fair copy of all their letters in books furnished for that purpose.

They shall read at each meeting the correspondence, or such abstracts from it as the President may direct, which has been sustained since the previous meeting.

6. The Treasurer shall collect, receive and disburse, all moneys due and payable, and all donations and bequests of money or other property to the Society. He shall pay, under proper vouchers, all the ordinary expenses of the Society, and shall deposit all its funds in one of the Vermont Banks, to the credit of the Society, subject to his checks as Treasurer: and at the annual meeting shall make a true report of all moneys received and paid out by him, to be audited by the Committee on Finance provided for hereafter.

7. It shall be the duty of the Librarian and Cabinet Keeper, to preserve, arrange, and keep in good order, all specimens of natural history, books, manuscripts, documents, pamphlets, and papers of every kind, belonging to the Society. He shall keep a catalogue of the same, and take especial care that no book, manuscript, document, paper, or any property of the Society, confided to his keeping, be removed from the room. He shall also be furnished with a book, in which to record all donations and bequests, of whatsoever kind, relating to his department, with the name of the donor, and the time when bestowed.

8. The Curators, with the President, Vice Presidents, Corresponding and Recording Secretaries, Librarian and Treasurer, shall constitute a Board of Managers, whose duty it shall be to superintend the general concerns of the Society. The President shall, from this Board, appoint the following Standing Committees, viz.: On the Library and Cabinet, on Printing and Publishing, and on Finance.

9. The Committee on the Library and Cabinet shall have the supervisory care of all the printed publications, manuscripts, and curiosities. They shall, with the Librarian, provide suitable shelves, cases and fixtures, in which to arrange and display them. The printed volumes and manuscripts shall be regularly numbered and marked with the name of the "Vermont Historical Society." They shall propose at the regular meetings, such books or manuscripts pertaining to the object of the Society, as they shall deem expedient, which, when approved, shall be by them purchased, and disposed of as above directed. They shall be required to visit the Library at least once a year, officially — and shall provide a book or books, in which the Librarian and Cabinet Keeper shall keep a record of their proceedings — and be entrusted, in general, with the custody, care and increase, of whatever comes within the province of their appointed duty.

10. The Committee on Printing and Publishing shall prepare for publication whatever documents or collections shall be ordered by the Society ; shall contract for, and supervise the printing of the same, and shall furnish the Recording Secretary and Librarian and Cabinet Keeper, with such blank notices, summonses, labels, &c., as may be deemed requisite.

11. The Committee on Finance shall consist of at least one member of each of the former Committees, and shall have the general oversight and direction of the funds of the Society. They shall examine the books of the Treasurer, vouch all accounts of moneys expended, and audit his annual report.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE CABINET, LIBRARY, &c.

§ 1. All donations to the Cabinet, or Library, when practicable, shall have the donor's name, legibly written or printed, affixed thereto.

2. No article, the property of the Society, shall be removed from the Historical Room without the consent of the Librarian and Cabinet Keeper, or one of the Curators.

3. All donations shall be promptly acknowledged by the Librarian and Cabinet Keeper on behalf of the Society, and shall be specified by that officer in his report to the Society to be made at the annual meeting.

4. The Library and Cabinet Keeper shall make a written report of the condition of the Library and Cabinet at the annual meeting.

5. All reports of Committees must be in writing, and addressed to the President, and shall be recorded by the Recording Secretary, unless otherwise ordered by a vote of the Society.

6. It shall be deemed the duty of all members, if convenient, to contribute to the Library and Cabinet such papers, pamphlets, books (rare or out of print), which possess historical interest, and such natural products as may illustrate the natural history of the State.

7. The society shall appoint at the annual meeting one of the Resident, Corresponding or Honorary Members of the Society, to deliver an historical discourse at the succeeding annual meeting, and invite members of the Society to prepare papers relating to distinguished Vermonters, or the civil and natural history of Vermont, to be read at the annual or special meetings of the

Society, which papers shall be preserved, by the Recording Secretary, for the use of or publication in the transactions of the Society.

8. Notices of the death of such members of this Historical Society, and eminent Vermonters, as may de cease during the year preceding the annual meeting of the Society, shall be prepared under the direction of the Board of Managers and be read at the annual meeting, and be deposited in the archives of the Society for future use and reference.

RULES OF ORDER

OF THE MEETINGS OF THE

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

I. Every meeting shall be opened with prayer.

II. At each meeting the Recording Secretary shall enter on the minutes the names of members who are present.

III. At each annual meeting the order of business shall be as follows :

1. The election of officers for the year ensuing.
 2. The reports of Standing Committees.
 3. The report of the Treasurer.
 4. The report of the Librarian and Cabinet Keeper.
 5. Recommendation and election of Honorary, Corresponding and Resident members.
 6. Notices of the death of members and prominent Vermonters who have died during the year.
 7. Motions, Resolutions and Miscellaneous business.
 8. The reading, correcting and approving the Minutes.
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The order of business of special and adjourned meetings shall be as follows :

1. The reading, correcting and approving the Minutes of the preceding meeting.
2. Reports from Committees.
3. Unfinished business.
4. Motions, Resolutions and Miscellaneous business.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Vermont Historical Society held their annual meeting at the State House, in Montpelier, on the 19th of October, 1880, at 2 o'clock P. M.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Hon. E. P. WALTON.

The records of the last meeting were read and approved.

Hon. CHARLES DEWEY, from the Committee on Nominations, reported the following list of officers for the year ensuing, and the same were duly elected as follows :

OFFICERS.

President — Hon. E. P. WALTON of Montpelier.

Vice-Presidents — Hon. JAMES BARRETT of Woodstock ; Rev. WILLIAM S. HAZEN of Northfield ; Hon. EDWARD A. SOWLES of St. Albans.

Recording Secretary — CHARLES W. PORTER of Montpelier.

Corresponding Secretaries — Hon. G. G. BENEDICT of Burlington, and Z. S. STANTON of Roxbury.

Treasurer — HIRAM CARLETON, Esq. of Montpelier.

Librarian — MARCUS D. GILMAN of Montpelier.

Curators — Hon. R. S. TAFT of Burlington ; Dr. H. A. CUTTING of Lunenburg ; H. A. HUSE, Esq. of Montpelier ; Hon.

G. A. DAVIS of Windsor ; and SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL of St. Albans.

The President appointed the following

STANDING COMMITTEES :

Publishing Committee — HON. MILAND HALL of Bennington ; HON. E. P. WALTON and HON. CHARLES H. HEATH of Montpelier.

Finance Committee — GEORGE W. SCOTT of Montpelier ; G. G. BENEDICT of Burlington, and H. A. CUTTING of Lunenburg.

Committee on Library and Cabinet — Dr. P. D. Bradford of Northfield ; HON. C. H. HEATH and Rev. J. H. HINCKS of Montpelier.

The following new members were elected : JOHN M. COMSTOCK of Chelsea ; JOHN M. CURRIER of Castleton ; Dr. C. M. CHANDLER of Montpelier ; Rev. SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL of St. Albans ; EDWARD DEWEY of Montpelier ; GEORGE H. RICHMOND of Northfield, and Z. S. STANTON of Roxbury. Corresponding members, Rev. CHARLES ROGERS, LL. D., Secretary Royal Historical Society, London, England ; Rev. EDWIN M. STONE, Librarian Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence.

On motion of Rev. W. S. HAZEN, the following resolution was adopted :

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed by the President to secure a suitable appropriation from the General Assembly to complete the putting in order and binding of the papers, magazines and periodicals of this society.

The Committee appointed were R. S. TAFT, H. A. HUSE and C. H. HEATH.

The report of the Treasurer was read, and on motion, accepted and adopted.

Miss Hemenway, the historian, presented the Society with a fine cabinet portrait of the late Rev. and Hon. ASA LYON, of Grand Isle county.

On motion the Society adjourned to meet in Representatives' Hall at half past seven o'clock this evening.

EVENING.

The Society met, pursuant to adjournment, the President in the chair.

Prayer was offered by the Rev. Mr. WHEELOCK, Chaplain to the Senate.

Previous to the excellent address by Mr. SOWLES upon the Fenians, there was presented to the Society a fine portrait of DANIEL P. THOMPSON, the celebrated Vermont novelist, by T. W. WOOD, the artist, which called forth a proper resolution, showing the due appreciation of the Society, as follows :

Resolved, That the hearty thanks of this Society are hereby tendered to Thomas W. Wood for a perfect portrait of the late Hon. Daniel P. Thompson, and in recognition of his repeated gifts to the Society, and of his prominence as a Vermont artist, Mr. Wood is hereby made an honorary member of this Society.

The following gentlemen were then elected as members of the Society : Col. ELY ELY-GODDARD and REV. A. D. BARBER ; after which the following resolution was passed in favor of printing Vermont history :

Resolved That the Vermont Historical Society urgently recommend to the Legislature, now in session, to take up the resolution for an appropriation for Miss Hemenway's Historical Gazetteer, amend as existing circumstances may render expedient, and confirm the same ; that there be no more delay in the completion of a work so invaluable to the State.

Hon. E. A. SOWLES of St. Albans, then delivered an address upon " Fenianism and Fenian Raids."

the first of the year, the weather was very cold, and the wind was very strong, so that the ship was obliged to stay in port.

The second of the year, the weather was very cold, and the wind was very strong, so that the ship was obliged to stay in port.

CHAPTER II

The third of the year, the weather was very cold, and the wind was very strong, so that the ship was obliged to stay in port.

The fourth of the year, the weather was very cold, and the wind was very strong, so that the ship was obliged to stay in port.

The fifth of the year, the weather was very cold, and the wind was very strong, so that the ship was obliged to stay in port.

The sixth of the year, the weather was very cold, and the wind was very strong, so that the ship was obliged to stay in port.

The seventh of the year, the weather was very cold, and the wind was very strong, so that the ship was obliged to stay in port.

The eighth of the year, the weather was very cold, and the wind was very strong, so that the ship was obliged to stay in port.

The ninth of the year, the weather was very cold, and the wind was very strong, so that the ship was obliged to stay in port.

The tenth of the year, the weather was very cold, and the wind was very strong, so that the ship was obliged to stay in port.

The eleventh of the year, the weather was very cold, and the wind was very strong, so that the ship was obliged to stay in port.

The twelfth of the year, the weather was very cold, and the wind was very strong, so that the ship was obliged to stay in port.

The thirteenth of the year, the weather was very cold, and the wind was very strong, so that the ship was obliged to stay in port.

The fourteenth of the year, the weather was very cold, and the wind was very strong, so that the ship was obliged to stay in port.

The fifteenth of the year, the weather was very cold, and the wind was very strong, so that the ship was obliged to stay in port.

The sixteenth of the year, the weather was very cold, and the wind was very strong, so that the ship was obliged to stay in port.

The seventeenth of the year, the weather was very cold, and the wind was very strong, so that the ship was obliged to stay in port.

On motion,

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society are hereby tendered to the Hon. Edward A. Sowles for his valuable address delivered this evening.

The meeting was then adjourned until such time as the Hon. E. J. PHELPS of Burlington, can deliver his address upon the "Life and Character of Chief Justice SAMUEL PRENTISS."

BIENNIAL REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN
OF THE
Vermont Historical Society,

FOR THE TERM ENDING OCTOBER 8, 1880.

—:O:—

The following are the additions to the library :

Books, bound, volumes,.....	850
Newspapers, unbound, volumes,.....	35
Pamphlets,.....	1,906
Manuscripts,.....	205
Maps,.....	11
Indian relics,.....	90
Miscellaneous articles,.....	72
Total,.....	3,169

A complete list of the names of donors and of those with whom exchanges have been made is herewith appended.

I can only repeat the statement in my report two years ago, that "more room" is needed for our rapidly increasing library.

The legislature of 1878 made a small appropriation for the purpose of binding and putting in order for use the newspapers and magazines in the library of the Society, and Mr. J. D. Clark, the bookbinder, at once commenced the work, and has completed one hundred and forty-four volumes of newspapers which are now upon our shelves, and there are still sixty volumes or more at the bindery in an unfinished state, while our magazines and periodicals remain untouched.

After the bookbinder had got the newspapers well under way it was discovered that the appropriation alluded to, could not be made available without further legislation, on account of an oversight, to which Governor Proctor refers in his late message.

In order to complete the binding in a proper manner an appropriation of six hundred dollars will be required, including the sum voted two years ago.

Respectfully submitted,

M. D. GILMAN,

Librarian.

NAMES OF DONORS

AND THOSE WITH WHOM EXCHANGES HAVE BEEN EFFECTED.

INSTITUTIONS.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, Worcester, Mass.—1 vol. Proceedings, April 24, 1878; 1 vol. Annual Proceedings, 1878; 1 vol. Annual Proceedings, Oct 1, 1879; 1 vol. Proceedings, 1879; 1 vol. Proceedings, April, 1880.

AMERICAN ARCHEOLOGICAL AND NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 64 Madison Avenue, New York—1 pamphlet on Roman Medallions.

ASTOR LIBRARY, New York—31st Annual Report.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY—27th and 28th Annual Reports; Bulletins and Monthly Reports as issued.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY—185 vols. books and pamphlets.

CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY—Report, 7th.

DELAWARE HISTORICAL SOCIETY—1 Memorial Address, Willard Hall; 2 pamphlets.

ESSEX CLASSICAL INSTITUTE, Salem, Mass.—Catalogue, 1877-8.

ESSEX INSTITUTE, Salem, Mass.—Bulletins, vols. 10-11; Collections, vols. 15-16-17.

FLETCHER LIBRARY, Burlington—14 pamphlets ; 3 books.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Savannah—First Regiment of Georgia in the Civil War.

HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, Cincinnati, O.—1 copy *Indians of Ohio*, by M. F. Force.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, Philadelphia—*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* ; Quarterly, 1878-9-80 ; 7 books ; 3 pamphlets.

KANSAS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Topeka—First Biennial Report, 1877-8.

LIBRARY COMPANY, Philadelphia—*Bulletins*, 1878-9-80.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Brooklyn, N. Y.—1 book, *Campaign of 1776*.

LOWELL HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, Lowell, Mass.—No. 4 of *Old Settlers' Association*.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Baltimore—1 copy *Maryland Documents*, 1692-1800 ; 2 Fund Publications, Nos. 14, 15.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Boston—*Collections*, vols. 5, 6, 5th Series ; *Proceedings*, 1791-1835, 1 vol. ; *Proceedings*, 1835-1855, 1 vol. ; *Proceedings*, 1878-9-80, 1 vol. ; 7 miscellaneous books.

MINNESOTA ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES—*Bulletin*, 1878-9.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—2 Reports, 1878-9 ; *Collections*, part 1 of vol. III ; *Hennepin Bi-Centenary*.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY, St. Louis—*Publications*, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 ; *School Bulletins*.

NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY OF ORANGE, N. J.—*Constitution and By-Laws*, 10th, 11th, 12th editions.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY, Boston—*Register and Proceedings*, continuously.

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Newark—*Proceedings*, 1878-9-80.

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY—2 vols. *Quarterly Record* ; 3 pamphlets.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—2 vols. *Collections*, 1875-6 ; 1 Address, 1879, by F. de Peyster.

OLD COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Taunton, Mass.—*Collections*, part 1.

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Utica.—3 pamphlets, *Proceedings*, etc. ; 1 pamphlet, *Annual Address*, 1880.

PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, Evanston, Ill.—1 copy C. Randolph's address.

PUBLIC SCHOOL LIBRARY, St. Louis—4 Reports, 1876-9 ; 10 vols. books, *St. Louis Municipal*, etc. ; 4 pamphlets.

REDWOOD LIBRARY, Newport, R. I.—2 Reports, 1878-9.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Providence—2 *Proceedings*, 1877-8-9.

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY, London.—2 vols. *Transactions*.

SALEM LYCEUM, Salem, Mass.—1 copy *History of*.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Madison, Wis.—Reports, 1877–8–9: vol. 8, of Collections.

STATE LIBRARY, D. G. Pratt, Secretary of State, Albany—10 miscellaneous books, State publications.

TUFT'S COLLEGE, College Hill, Mass.—2 Annual Reports, 1878–9; 2 Annual Catalogues, 1878–9; Collegian, as published.

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT, Burlington—4 Catalogues, etc., 1878–9.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY, Worcester, Mass.—32 pamphlets. Worcester City Documents; Proceedings, 1878–9; Early Records of Worcester; Records of Proprietors of Worcester, part 1.

YALE COLLEGE, New Haven, Conn.—Catalogues and Reports, 1878–9–80.

INDIVIDUALS.

ALBEE, A. M., Springfield, Vt.—12 Autograph letters and other manuscripts.

ALVORD, Gen. B., Washington, D. C.—1 pamphlet.

ATKINS, HIRAM, Montpelier—Argus and Patriot, continuously; 10 pamphlets.

BALDWIN, C. C., Secretary, Cleveland, Ohio.—2 pamphlets.

BALDWIN, Hon. D., Montpelier—1 Package Manuscripts, Dea. Sylvanus Baldwin.

BARBER, A. D., Montpelier—45 pamphlets.

BECKET, C. H., Hanover, N. H.—1 copy of his Crisis in English Industries.

BENEDICT, G. G., Burlington—53 pamphlets.

BINGHAM, H. S., Bennington, 1 Broken Bank Bill.

BLISS, Mrs. N. B., Claremont, N. H.—Manuscript Sermon, History of Barre, Letters, etc., by her late husband, Rev. F. S. Bliss; 1 vol. Life of Rev. F. S. Bliss.

BOLTWOOD, L. M., Hartford, Conn.—1 pamphlet, Life of Lucius Boltwood.

BRADFORD, P. D., M. D., Northfield—1 Parchment Deed: 1 History of Northfield.

BROCK, R. A., Richmond, Va.—2 books: Newspapers containing Historical articles, continuously; 2 pamphlets.

BROSS, WILLIAM, Chicago—1 copy his History of Chicago.

BURNHAM, G. W., New York—1 copy Proceedings Inaugurating Webster Statue in Central Park, N. Y.

BUTLER, Prof. J. D., Madison, Wis.—6 pamphlets.

CAHOON, G. W., Lyndon—4 books; 7 pamphlets.

CAMP, H. H., Milwaukie—1 copy his address on Western Banking.

CANFIELD, THOS. H., Burlington—89th and 90th Conventions of the Diocese of Vermont.

CHAPMAN, A. T., Secretary, Middlebury—1 vol. Vermont Sheep Register Breeders' Association.

CHENEY, S. P., Dorset—1 copy of his American Singing Book.

CLARK, HENRY, Rutland—6 books; 27 pamphlets.

CLARK, ALBERT, St. Albans—2 copies Necrology of Vermont.

CLARKE, R., Cincinnati—Memorial of Rev. Henry Smith.

CLOSTON, WM., Springfield, Mass.—17 Vermont Election Sermons.

COLTON, Hon. E. P., Irasburgh—Lot of manuscript letters, etc., from the "Allen Papers."

COMSTOCK, J. M., Chelsea, Vt.—8 Dartmouth College pamphlets.

CONN, G. P., M. D., Concord, N. H.—2 New Hampshire Medical Society, 1878-9.

CRESSY, Prof. NOAH, Amherst, Mass.—1 pamphlet, his Agricultural Address.

CURRIER, Prof. J. M., Castleton—26 vols. books; 70 pamphlets; lot of Indian Relics; 230 vols. in paper covers, scientific works; 3 Relics; lot of Newspapers; lot of scientific pamphlets.

CUTTING, H. A., Lunenburg, Vt.—4 books; 6 pamphlets; 6 copies of his "Pests of the Farm."

DARLING, J. G., Boston—1 Roman Sword, captured from the rebels in Kansas.

DAVENPORT, Dr. G., East Randolph—1 pamphlet; 1 vol. "Timothy Peacock."

DAWSON, H. B., Morrisania, N. Y.—26 books and pamphlets.

DE BERNADY BROS., London, England—Next of Kin Gazette, continuously, 1878-9.

DEITER, Mrs. E. H., Montpelier—2 Autographs, Madam Le Vert, etc.

DEWEY, CHS., Montpelier—1 Sermon, by Rev. W. Fisk.

DILLINGHAM, W. P., Waterbury—1 copy History Waterbury.

DROWNE, H. T., New York—1 copy of his Solomon Drowne M. D.; 2 pamphlets.

DUNSTER, SAMUEL, Attleboro—1 copy his Dunster Genealogy.

DWINELL, MELVIN, Rome, Georgia—1 vol. his Travels in Europe.

EATON, C. C., Montpelier—10 pamphlets; 1 Testament.

EDMONDS, Hon. GEO. F.—29 vols. Congressional Record, etc.

ELLIOT, Rev. L. H., Bradford, Vt.—48 pamphlets; 11 books.

EMERSON, CURTIS, East Saginaw, Mich.—Journal and Letters of Hon. Abel Curtis.

EMERY, J. C., Montpelier—1 Stage and Railroad Card 1847.

FARRIER, GEO. H., Jersey City—1 Memorial of Battle of Paulus Hook.

FEARING, JR., A. C., Secretary Bunker Hill Association, Boston—4 vols. relating to Bunker Hill.

FERREE & Co., Philadelphia—The Librarian, weekly.

- FIELDS—Genealogy of the Fields of Providence, R. I.
FIELD, T. W., Brooklyn, N. Y.—1 School Report.
FREEMAN OFFICE, Montpelier—20 pamphlets
FREE PRESS ASSOCIATION, Burlington—Weekly Free Press, continuously.
GEROULD, S. L., Goffstown, N. H.—1 copy New Hampshire Congregational Minutes, 1879.
GESTRIN, Prof. C. E. H., Northfield—1 copy of his "Vacation Labors."
GILMAN, GEO. A., Marshfield—1 pamphlet; 2 newspapers.
GILMAN, M. D., Montpelier—18 vols. newspapers, Chicago Tribune and Times.
GOLD, T. S., West Cornwall, Conn.—1 vol. his History of Cornwall.
GOODELL, Rev. C. L., St. Louis, Mo.—3 Sermons by himself.
GREEN, G. B., M. D., Windsor, Heirs of, through Rev. H. A. Hazen—11 Manuscript Charters, Deeds, etc., relating to Windsor.
GREEN, S. A., M. D., Boston—157 pamphlets; 4 books; 27 pamphlets; 12 Boston Almanacs; 4 vols. books.
GROUT, Rev. H. M., Concord, Mass.—3 Sermons by himself.
HALL, Hon. H., Bennington—33 pamphlets.
HALL, JOHN, D. D., Trenton, N. J.—1 copy his History Presbyterian Church, Trenton.
HARRINGTON, E., Spencer, Mass.—13 pamphlets; 1 Ps Spanish Wood from Mexico; 3 newspapers; 1 Indian book.
HARTMAN, Gov., Harrisburg, Pa.—vols. 5, 6, 7, Archives of Pennsylvania, 2d Series
HAYDEN, Rev. H. E., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.—14 books; 15 pamphlets.
HAZEN, H. A., Billerica, Mass.—4 pamphlets.
HEATH, C. H., Montpelier—5 vols. Sunday School Books; 2 other books.
HEMENWAY, Miss A. M., Burlington—1 book, Clarke Papers; 1 Autograph Note of Thos. Jefferson; 1 Revolutionary Sword; 15 pamphlets; 6 pamphlets
HILTON, W. D., Providence, R. I.—34 pamphlets; 7 vols. books.
HOWGATE, H. W., Washington, D. C.—1 copy his Polar Colonization.
HUBERT, Prest. C. B., Middlebury—3 of his Sermons
JILLSON, CLARK, Worcester, Mass.—24 pamphlets, his own works.
KELLOGG, L. H., Benson, Vt.—1 Kellogg Family Record.
KETCHUM, Rev. S., Poquonock, Conn.—3 pamphlets.
KIMBALL, MARK, Chicago—1 Reception to Old Settlers.
KINNEY, Mrs. E. F., Brookfield—1 Military Commission, 1784.
KITE WM., Germantown, Pa.—1 copy Protest Against Slavery, 1688.
KON, GEO. F., North Bennington—3 vols. Vermont newspapers.
LANGWORTHY, Rev. I. P., Boston—8 vols. books.
LAPHAM, A. B., Augusta, Me.—1 copy Election Returns, 1879.

LAPHAM, W. B., Augusta, Me.—1 copy Register of the House of Representatives, Maine.

LEVINGS, W. S., Williamstown, Vt.—12 books.

LOOMIS, Mrs. ELIZA, Burlington—3 vols. school books; 3 old newspapers.

MARTIN, Gen. WM. T., Natchez, Miss.—Confederate Bond and Notes, \$1,735.50. The notes being in part his pay as a major general during the last year of the war.

MCCLURE, W. F., Montpelier—1 vol. Travels in Germany.

McKEEN, Miss PHEBE, Andover, Mass.—3 vols. books of which she is the author.

MORRILL, J. S., Hon.—Message and Documents, 1878-9.

MT. HOLYOKE SEMINARY—Catalogues, 1878-9.

PAGE, J. A., Montpelier—4 vols. of register of visitors to Vermont Headquarters at the Centennial, Philadelphia, 1876.

PARKER, Prof. W. H., Middlebury—36 pamphlets, relating mostly to Middlebury College.

PERKINS, N. C., Chicago—1 copy his address, Yale Association, Chicago.

PERKINS, R. A., Woodstock—4 vols. Woodstock Post, published by him.

PEYSTER, FREDERIC DE, New York—1 copy his Life of Earl of Bellmont.

PHELPS, J. W., Brattleboro—2 vols. his publications; 1 Map of Newport News, Va.

PHOENIX, S. W., New York—3 4to vols. (elegant) Whitney Genealogy.

PICKERING, Mrs. CHARLES, Boston—1 4to vol. by her late husband, "Chronological History of Plants."

POILLON, WM., New York—1 W. M. Medal, the 7th Regiment Centennial Visit.

Mr. PRICHARD, Bradford—120 pamphlets; 58 books.

PUTNAM'S SONS, G. P., New York—1 vol. Soldier and Pioneer.

REED, GEO. B., Boston—6 pamphlets.

RYDER, S. B., Brandon—39 Middlebury newspapers, 1844-5; 20 miscellaneous newspapers; 85 pamphlets; 1 book.

RUSSELL, M. W., Concord, N. H.—1 Transactions New Hampshire Medical Society, 1879.

SEGSBY, H. W., St. Armand, P. Q.—1 Neck Yoke used in the Revolutionary War.

SELWYN, A. R. C., Montreal—1 set of Maps to Geological Survey of Canada.

SHELDON, H. L., Middlebury—1 Album, Photographs of Middlebury College, etc.; 1 pamphlet; 1 package manuscripts.

SLADE, J. M. Middlebury—6 copies Slade's State Papers, by exchange.

SMITH, A. C., Minnesota—2 vols. on Masonry, by himself.

SMITH, Rev. B. P., Brookline, Mass.—1 book, his History Dartmouth College.

SMITH, Rev. C. S., Montpelier—6 pamphlets, Vermont Bible Society Reports, etc.

SMUCKER, ISAAC, Newark, Ohio—2 vols. Ohio Statistics, 1878-9; 2 pamphlets.

SOTHERAN & CO., H., London, England—Manual of Free Libraries.

SPAULDING, Rev. G. B., Dover, N. H.—4 pamphlets, Sermons, etc., by himself; 1 75-cent scrip of the old Vermont State Bank.

STAPLES, J. E., Worcester, Mass.—1 pamphlet, "Norman Schools," etc.

STOCKBRIDGE, Prof. L. S., Amherst, Mass.—1 copy his Report on Rain-fall, etc.

STONE, W. L., Jersey City Heights.—2 books.

STRAYKER, W. S., Trenton, N. J.—1 copy Minutes Provincial Congress, Council of Safety, etc., of New Jersey.

SUPERVISORS, San Francisco—2 vols. Municipal Reports, 1877-8-9.

TAYLOR, D. T., Rouse's Point—1 copy his Oration, July 4, 1877, and the original manuscript of same; 317 pamphlets, etc.

TURNER, A. T., Boston—2 Auditor's Reports, City of Boston, 1878-9-80.

TUTTLE & COMPANY, Rutland—90 pamphlets.

TYLER, Rev. ALBERT, Worcester, Mass.—1 copy his Address on the Battle of Bennington.

TYLER, ELIZA G. (KEYES), Brattleboro—1 copy Keyes Genealogy.

TYLER, Rev. THOS. P., D. D., Brattleboro—4 vols. books; 1 package Manuscripts from the estate of his father, Judge Royall Tyler, relating to the Shay's Rebellion.

WALKER, Rev. E. S., Springfield, Ill.—1 Powder Horn from Lake George, 1758, with a history of the same.

WALKER, Rev. GEO. L., Hartford, Conn.—8 Sermons by himself.

WALTON, E. P., Montpelier—Manuscript copy of his Address to Vermont Historical Society, October, 1878; 10 copies History of Montpelier; various newspapers; 4 pamphlets.

WARE, Deacon HORACE, Williamstown, Vt.—16 books assorted.

WASHBURN, Mrs. P. T., Woodstock—11 bundles newspapers; 47 pamphlets.

WELD, B. M., Bradford—2 Catalogues, Bradford Academy, etc.

WELLS, W. H., Chicago—1 copy Chicago School Report.

WHEELER, J. H., Washington, D. C.—1 Life of R. D. Spaight.

WILDER, Hon. M. P., Boston—3 Addresses, etc., by himself.

WOODWARD, Mrs. J. B., Montpelier—18 vols. Vermont Registration Reports; 25 vols. miscellaneous books.

UNITED STATES CHIEF OF ENGINEERS—3 vols. Reports, 1879.

UNITED STATES NAVAL OBSERVATORY.—17 volumes.

BUREAU OF EDUCATION, Washington, D. C.—3 Circulars of Information, No. 1, 1878-9-80; 1 Public Libraries in the United States, parts I, II; 2 Reports, 1877-8; 5 pamphlets.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, Washington—19 vols. Explorations, Surveys, etc.; 30 pamphlets, Explorations, Surveys, etc.; 6 vols. Senate and House Journals; 1 Map of Colorado; 4 vols. books; 7 pamphlets.

PATENT OFFICE, Washington—Weekly Official Gazette, continuously.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, Washington—Reports, 1878-9.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT, Washington—3 Reports, 1877-8-9; 1 copy Postal Laws and Regulations.

HISTORY
OF
FENIANISM AND FENIAN RAIDS
IN
VERMONT.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE VERMONT HISTORICAL
SOCIETY AT MONTPELIER, OCT. 19, 1880, BY THE
HON. EDWARD A. SOWLES OF ST. ALBANS.

ADDRESS.

Mr. President and Gentlemen

of the Vermont Historical Society :

The history of Ireland has been characterized by local strifes, divisions and disappointments. No son of hers has ever occupied the throne of England. Unlike England and Scotland, the elements of discord have always shown themselves so prominently as to keep her people in continued subordination.

Whenever success has been within her grasp, some disappointed aspirant and his faction, has wafted it from her and given it to others. She never could concentrate her united strength and fealty on any one of her prominent men so as to insure marked success, though she has had her Emmets, O'Connells, and scores of like statesmen and philanthropists. No where, in all the annals of her history have the elements of discord more prominently and forcibly exhibited themselves, and retarded her nationality, than in the great Fenian movement. The yoke of British oppression had become so wincing and burdensome to them, as they for centuries have claimed, as to culminate in organizations for relief in Ireland — first designated under the local names of the "Phoenix Society," "Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood" and "Nationalists," but better known as Fenians, deriving their name from Fionna or Fienna, an Irish

military organization in the third century, commanded by Fionn or Finn, who was slain in battle in A. D. 283 ; and his command under his grandson, Osgar, were practically annihilated during a civil strife in A. D. 296.

The Fenian Brotherhood of the United States was founded under a charter from the State of New York, for a benevolent society in the city of New York, in the year 1857, by Michael Doheny, John O'Mahony and Michael Corcoran, subsequently a brigadier-general in the Union army. At the same time kindred organizations in Ireland were developing themselves in large proportions under the leadership of James Stephens — the funds for their maintenance being sent principally from this country. In 1858, Stephens came to this country and represented the existence of 35,000 enrolled and disciplined Fenians, and solicited further aid. The friends of Ireland were called together in New York, and the Brotherhood was fully organized under John O'Mahony as President. In 1860 O'Mahony visited Ireland, and there found a net work of clubs of the order, which met stately and secretly to drill. He inspected the most important districts, and was present at a meeting of the Fenian leaders in Dublin, at which definite plans of action were agreed upon. From this meeting the organization received great impulse in both countries.

When the Brotherhood was first organized in New York City, it numbered forty members ; but in 1870, it extended its ramifications all over the United States, British America and Australia, while in Great Britain it established "circles" wherever Irishmen were to be found. They were as completely organized and officered as any soldiery ever was, not in active service.

In the United States up to 1863, the order was but little known or understood. Our citizens saw men assembling by

night and secretly drilling ; but they were confounded with the martial attitude and warlike appearance which then pervaded this entire country, and were supposed to be portions of the contending armies then existing, or in training therefor.

These circles, especially in the large cities, furnished several regiments at the commencement of our civil war, which were familiar with military tactics and discipline, and proved to be valuable accessions to the Union army. After the first battle of Bull Run, and the return from service of the 69th N. Y. Regiment of National Guards commanded by Col. Corcoran, composed largely of Fenians, Thomas F. Meagher organized the so-called "Irish Brigade"—likewise principally officered and filled by Fenians. This step was imitated all over the North, and the Fenian element was active in filling the ranks of volunteer regiments composing the Union army.

In 1862, Col. Corcoran was taken prisoner of war, and lodged in a Southern prison. After his liberation, his prominent position as a Fenian leader was the means of drawing many of the organizations into the Northern army with the ulterior expectation of using the experience so acquired, in the cause of the liberation of their fatherland.

Early in 1863, T. C. Luby, a prominent Irish leader, came to America, and not only visited the prominent "circles" in this country, but also entered the Union lines and held meetings at the head-quarters of Irish regiments.

On Nov. 3, 1863, the American Fenian Brotherhood held its First National Congress in Chicago—the delegates representing 15,000 Fenians, above one-half of whom were in the Union army. The order was declared to be strictly in accordance with our laws—free from partizan politics and differences in religion.

and declared the Irish people a distinct nationality with James Stephens as its leader. The central officers were to elect an annual Congress. The State officers were elected by the States, and "centers" were elected by "circles," in whom the affairs of the organization were entrusted.

Soon after a newspaper called the "Irish People," began to be published in Dublin, growing out of which, was a riot at a public meeting in Dublin, Feb. 23, 1864, from which A. M. Sullivan, a loyalist, was forcibly ejected by the Fenians. This somewhat aroused the apprehensions of the British authorities, and emboldened the Fenians in their open declarations in both countries, of their intentions of liberating Ireland. The uniform adherence and sympathy of the Fenians for universal freedom in this country, and especially their active coöperation and patriotic zeal, shoulder to shoulder with our own citizens in all the sanguinary struggles, in all our battles for the suppression of the Rebellion, and their devout and oft repeated attachment to the "old flag"—consecrated by the blood of their bravest men as well as ours, were frequently referred to, and bound them as with grapples of iron to the hearts and sympathies of the union-loving people of America. It may well be claimed that but for the timely aid of the Fenian organizations in this country, the government of our fathers might have been wrested from our control and destroyed forever.

On the other hand our experience with the British Government was their experience. British neutrality, so loudly prated by British subjects, was pointed at by the Fenians and sadly realized by our people as a mere sham, existing largely in boastful pretensions.

The palpable insincerity on the part of prominent British Government officials, including members of her ministry, and a large class of the aristocratic party of England and her colonies, created apprehensions of danger to the Union cause from Southern recognition and otherwise, and greatly intensified American sympathy and favor for the Fenians. As British sham neutrality became exposed, Fenianism grew and kept Britain in check. This was particularly noticeable after the Queen's proclamation of neutrality, of the 13th of May, 1861, and followed by the hasty and precipitate manner of according belligerent rights to the rebels, and before England had intelligence of a battle, an incident of bad faith almost unknown in the history of neutrality, as known and interpreted by modern civilized nations. This was followed on the 8th of November, 1861, by the startling news of the capture by Commodore Wilkes of Mason and Slidell, two accredited agents of the Confederate Government for the negotiations of treaties with European powers, on board the British mail steamer "Trent," on the high seas.

The British Government had always claimed the right of search, which was denied the United States in this instance. The United States Government, *per contra*, had always denied that right. Hence Commander Wilkes had, without authority, captured these two distinguished insurgents and had "made up a case" based upon British precedent and authority. At once her Majesty's Government made a demand for their release from Fort Warren in Boston Harbor, based upon her own rule of action "that might makes right." The American Government adhered to her own precedents and released them from imprisonment.

Afterwards, these *quasi* officials were received by Lord John Russell, British Minister of Foreign Affairs, and an interview was held on the 4th of May, 1862, whom he afterwards described as "the three gentlemen deputed by the Southern Confederacy to obtain their recognition as an independent State." On the 18th of May, 1861, Lord Russell sent a communication to Lord Lyne, British Minister at Washington, D. C., instructing him to take such means as he might judge most expedient, to transmit a copy of the dispatch to the British consul at Charleston or New Orleans, in order that it might be communicated to Mr. Jefferson Davis, at Montgomery. This use of the British Legation at Washington for such a purpose, was, as Mr. Seward afterwards said, an act which the United States would have been justified in regarding as an act of war, and the Fenians understood it. On the 7th of October, 1862, Minister Gladstone said in a speech at Newcastle, "we may have our own opinions about slavery; we may be for or against the South; but there is no doubt that Jefferson Davis and other leaders of the South have made an army. They are making, it appears, a navy, and they have made what is more than either — they have made a nation. (Loud cheers.) We may anticipate with certainty the success of the Southern States so far as regards their separation from the North. I cannot but believe that that event is as certain as any event yet future and contingent can be." O, what a prophet! O, what a Fenian poser!

On the 27th of March, 1863, Mr. Laird, the builder of the Alabama and other rams, which were seized by our Government, said in the British parliament, "I have only to say that I would rather be handed down to posterity as the builder of a dozen Alabamas than as the man who applies himself deliberately to

set class against class, and to cry up the institutions of another country, which when they come to be tested, are of no value whatever, and which reduced liberty to an utter absurdity."

Afterwards, John Bright, the off-ox in the British team, to whom he referred — thus replied. "I shall confine myself to that one vessel, the *Alabama*. She was built in this country; all her munitions of war were from this country; almost every man on board her was a subject of her Majesty. She sailed from one of our chief ports. She is reported to have been built by a firm in whom a member of this House was, and I presume is, interested. I did not complain that the member from Birkenham (Mr. Laird) had struck up a friendship with Captain Semmes, who may be described as another sailor once was of similar pursuits, as being 'the mildest mannered man that ever scuttled ship.'"

Canada soon became largely imbued with the same spirit of unfriendliness, though there were as strong and devoted union men on her soil as ever uttered union sentiments. On her territory thousands of Southern insurgents, refugees and sympathizers congregated together, to menace the Northern army and Northern people, and Fenianism followed. Here the South received the fullest measure of sympathy. Here they seem to have either infatuated or completely over-awed the local government so that they could make incursions on United States territory, where and when they pleased. Here organized the Lake Erie and St. Albans raids. Here originated the conspiracy to burn Northern cities and send infected clothing into the United States to poison Northern aqueducts, and above all, to assassinate President Lincoln and his Cabinet. Here Clay and Thompson, Saunders and Porterfield, Clary and Tucker and their coadjutors, in April, 1865, sent forth J. Wilkes Booth, Surratt and Harold, as

embassadors of death, to murder Lincoln, Johnson, Seward, Stanton, Grant and Chase, and the British Government declared them belligerents. Here, lest my assertions may be questioned, is the evidence of it as given in a book entitled "Assassination of President Lincoln and Trial of the Conspirators," printed in 1865 by official sanction. Dr. James B. Merritt, a Canadian, testified on that trial, "I think I saw the prisoner, D. C. Harold in Canada. Saunders said that Booth was heart and soul in this project of assassination, and felt as much as any person could feel, for the reason that he was a cousin to Beal that was hung in New York. He said that if they could dispose of Lincoln, it would be an easy matter to dispose of Johnson, he was such a drunken sot; it would be an easy matter to dispose of him in some of his drunken revelries," and Saunders knew.

Richard Montgomery testified, "I frequently heard the subject of raids upon our frontier and the burning of cities spoken of by Thompson, Clay, Clary, Tucker and Saunders. * * Before the St. Albans raid I knew of it."

Sanford Conover testified, "Of the accused who visited these persons (in Montreal) I knew John Wilkes Booth and John H. Surratt. Booth I saw but once. That was in the latter part of October, 1864. I think I saw him with Saunders and also at Thompson's. I saw him principally about St. Lawrence Hall."

Henry Finegas testified, "I heard Clay say 'I suppose they are getting ready for the inauguration of Lincoln, next month.' Saunders says, 'Yes, if the boys only have luck Lincoln won't trouble them much longer.' Clay asked, 'Is everything well?' Saunders replied, 'O, yes, Booth is bossing the job.'" On Booth's body after he was shot by Boston Corbett were found bills of

exchange drawn by the Ontario Bank of Montreal, proven to have been sold to him at Montreal and bearing date October 29, 1864, eight days after the St. Albans raid.

The writer had personal knowledge of the existence of a large Fenian organization in Montreal in October, 1864, and employed in behalf of the sufferers by the St. Albans raid, an attorney known to many to be the acknowledged leader of the organization in that city. In many seemingly reckless adventures as counsel, witness and sufferer among the Southern refugees and their friends in that city, in pursuit of justice and the reclamation of property, I was always conscious that while the strong arm of the British law might be doubtful protection to the person—as it was to our property—any personal violence would be visited by a speedy retaliation on the part of thousands of Fenians, many of whom were congregated at the various legal proceedings connected with that raid, proffering their sympathy and support.

In 1862 Mr. Seward called the attention of the British government to the inadequacy of the English and Canadian statutes to preserve neutrality and requested that they might be made more stringent. Lord Palmerston declined, so that Canada in fact had none in force until February, 1865, after the war was nearly over and the British “war in disguise” was nearly done. So defective was their statute that a learned judge of one of her majesty’s supreme courts declared “that a whole fleet of ships of war could be driven through the statute.” Caleb Cushing wisely remarked before the tribunal of arbitration, “That, as a matter of fact, a whole fleet of ships of war was driven through the statute,” as was in proof before this tribunal.

This was in wide contrast with the conduct of the United States under similar circumstances of a rebellion in Canada in

1837-8. Mr. Fox, the British Minister, to use his own language, "solemnly appealed to the supreme government promptly to interpose its sovereign authority for arresting the disorders," and inquired "what means it proposed to employ for that purpose." Congress immediately passed a neutrality act and President Van Buren issued a neutrality proclamation, and the whole frontier in this vicinity was bristling with the bayonets of our volunteers to preserve strict neutrality towards our neighbors.

All these breaches of neutrality and good faith were food upon which the Fenians were growing in numbers and strength, and in favor with the United States government, because they greatly paralyzed the efforts of Great Britain in her attempts to aid the South in their schemes of secession. In view of all these enormities Lord Stanley made bitter complaint, in regard to the Fenian policy of the United States, to which Mr. Seward forcibly replied in a dispatch, under date of January 12, 1867. He said, "I do not deem it necessary to reply at length to the reflections which Lord Stanley makes upon the conduct of this government in regard to the proceedings of the so called Fenians. The Fenian movement neither begins nor ends in the United States; but they are natives of Great Britain, though some of them have assumed naturalization in the United States. *This quarrel with Great Britain is not an American but a British one, as old—I sincerely hope it may not be as lasting—as the union of the United Kingdom.* Their aim is not American but British revolution. In seeking to make the territory of the United States a base for the organization of a republic in Ireland, and of military and naval operations for its establishment there, they allege that they have followed, as an example, *precedents of British subjects in regard to our civil war, allowed by her majesty's government.*"

Those flagrant breaches of neutrality, and wanton infractions of international law and comity, not only inflamed the loyal North, but also every Fenian against Great Britain and the South, whose cause that government had early espoused. The love of liberty which dwelt in the American heart and found a response in the patriotic bosom of nearly every Irishman in this country, made Americans and Irishmen allies in the suppression of the great rebellion, and induced the United States government and people to favor the Fenian cause for the purpose of showing to England that she too had her elements of discord in her midst, which like Hamlet's ghost would appear and trouble its author. It also led the Fenians to believe that British precedents of neutrality would be followed by the United States government whenever occasion presented itself. Hence Great Britain became alarmed at the magnitude of the Fenian movement and began to look to her own situation, and at the same time assure the United States of her extreme friendship diplomatically, which was much like the caricature of the fox at the poultry meeting where he devoutly rises and says "let us pray."

Hence the United States did for a time pursue the same lax and unfriendly policy which Great Britain had followed during the war. In violation of her laws she too had allowed these armed bands to organize on her territory for the avowed purpose of operating against England, and with the avowed object of producing "a counter irritant" on the body politic of England, and lead her to realize that she too had her intestine foes as well as other nations, and that conspiracies and insurrections were likely at any time to engage her attention and tax her strength and resources.

Those who intimately knew the great mind which presided over the destinies of our foreign relations during the darkest days of our rebellion, and guarded as with an Argus eye its difficulties and combinations, make bold in saying that this Fenian movement was encouraged as a great strategic movement to defeat British intervention, which, it is claimed, that nation had promised to the struggling, languishing South. Indeed, Mr. Seward wrote Minister Adams at the court of St. James in 1866, asking the opinion of the latter, as to the policy of "making up a case" with the Fenians against Great Britain similar to those then arising with Great Britain growing out of their neutral relations towards the United States during our civil war, with a view of realizing compensation from British depredations—direct and indirect—upon our navy, territory and people during our war. Minister Adams at once replied that such a course would lack the element of belligerency—unless that was accorded to the Fenians—and then it would be a concession that Britain was right in the course she had pursued. For this and other minor things the Fenians entertained feelings of profound indignity towards Mr. Adams.

But who can say, then, that the great army of Fenians then menacing Great Britain in all directions was not one of the most potent means of quelling the British Lion in his lair, and that it led in part to the final triumph of our Northern army? Who can doubt, then, that the Fenian cause was a powerful agency in collecting our great debt against Great Britain growing out of the war?

In January, 1865, the second Fenian congress met at Cincinnati, when "the circles" had increased five fold, and the financial receipts exceeded the total of seven previous years, as the

result of British feigned neutrality towards the United States. The middle classes in Ireland were in favor of revolution. The termination of war in this country left free those valiant Irish officers and soldiers on whom were centered mainly the hopes and expectations of the revolutionists. Disaffections and Fenian contagions began to spread among the Irish troops mainly composing the British army, and large numbers of them secretly joined the Fenian organizations. On the 8th of September, 1865, Stephens issued a proclamation in which he concludes, "The flag of Ireland, of the Irish republic, must this year be raised," and the cry of "Erin go Bragh" was resounded throughout the land.

On the 15th of September, 1865, Jeremiah O. D'Rossa and T. C. Luby were arrested in Dublin and incarcerated. On the next day appeared two proclamations from the viceroy, Lord Wadhouse, announcing the existence of the brotherhood: suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*; offering a reward for the apprehension of its members, and declaring martial law in the city and county of Cork. Simultaneously many other arrests were made, and among them one C. W. O'Connell, an *aide-de-camp* of O'Mahony, as he landed at Queenstown, upon whom was found papers incriminating many persons. Great energy was displayed by the British authorities in the dispatch of vessels of war, and in the establishment of a cordon of gun boats around the coasts of Ireland with its scores of noble harbors and beautiful bays. On November 11, 1865, Stephens, living near Dublin under an assumed name, was arrested and committed to prison, and on the 24th he escaped to France.

As soon as this intelligence reached the United States, the third Fenian Congress was summoned at Philadelphia. During

its session P. J. Meehan, editor of the *Irish American*, and accredited agent of the brotherhood in Ireland, returned and reported everything there as "powerful, the management masterly, and the position solid;" and *this* when the revolutionists were utterly hopeless. Thirty States were represented by three hundred and fifty circles, with a membership of 14,620. A Fenian sisterhood was established, which proved a successful auxiliary in the raising of funds. John Mitchell was released from Fortress Monroe by President Johnson, and went to Ireland. The prisoners under arrest in Ireland were tried and sentenced to prison for twenty years. In the mean time, the rupture between O'Mahony and a majority of the Senate, had been gradually widening. His party wished to operate in Ireland. The senatorial party favored the scheme of an armed expedition in Canada, and were afterwards known as "the Canada party." Delegates were in attendance from Canada in respectable numbers. The characteristic disaffection became still more alarming. The excitement of the Irish element in America became almost uncontrollable, and O'Mahony was impeached by the Senate, and succeeded by Col. Wm. R. Roberts of New York. While Roberts was preparing to move on Canada, O'Mahony was induced to move on *Campo Bello*, New Brunswick. Some arms were sent to Eastport, Me., and the command of the expedition was assumed by Major B. D. Kellian. Large numbers assembled at Eastport, but O'Mahony had ordered their guns not to be sent from New York. General Meade was dispatched by the United States authorities to watch their movements and they soon dispersed.

On May 10, 1866, Stephens arrived in New York and all hopes of extrication from their differences centered upon him, but he

found the O'Mahony party urging that all efforts should be turned towards helping "the men in the gap" in Ireland. He said that all the men wanted in Ireland—numbering hundreds of thousands—was money and coöperation to win their independence. Each party bitterly assailed the motives and plans of the other.

The Roberts party, under the military direction of Gen. Thomas W. Sweney, a late officer of the Union army, was placed in command of the Canada expedition about the middle of May. On the 19th of May, 1866, twelve hundred stands of arms were seized by the revenue officials, at Rouse's Point, N. Y. From the 29th to the 31st of May, 1866, bodies of Fenians, from various parts of the United States, moved towards Canada. On the morning of the 30th of May, the streets of St. Albans were suddenly thronged by soldiers in civilian's dress to the number of about one thousand. They made a descent upon us like an army in Flanders, without previous notice or expectation. They were reticent, and said that they had come to St. Albans to look over the grounds, and note the events made memorable by the Canadian rebel raid in 1864. They had been induced to come here because they were confident we would mete out to them the same kind of neutrality, that Canada had taught and practiced, at the time of the St. Albans raid, which had become established law throughout the British empire : and as we usually followed British precedents, we should not interfere with them in their struggles for independence. Here was history repeating itself on the old grounds, and "chickens coming home to roost." Here were Canadian detectives and spies congregated, and giving us lessons on neutrality as found in the Gospel according to Coursal and in the Acts of Young and his banditti — the former afterwards pro-

moted to high official position in Canada, and the latter recompensed by an appointment as a United States Commissioner to the Paris Exposition in 1878.

The expedition at this point was under command of Generals Sweney and Spear, and their subordinate officers in attendance — among whom were several young men who had been completely ruined financially by the piratical depredations on merchant vessels and their cargoes, under the British neutrality law, as interpreted and administered by such political ministers as Russell and Gladstone, who predicted that there would be no longer a government of the United States which Great Britain would be bound to respect. Here they met a fellow sympathizer in the person of Capt. E. Lincoln, who was a sea captain on board the "T. C. Wales" of Boston, Mass., a merchant vessel on her way to Boston, from Calcutta in the East Indies, laden with leather and products of that country, and whose vessel and all its effects were destroyed by fire, by Capt. Semmes of the cruiser Alabama, manned in part by British subjects, on the high seas. Capt. Lincoln and wife were taken prisoners of war and transferred to the cruiser — his wife giving birth to a child before landing at Nassau, a British port and a rebel rendezvous in the West India Islands. Here these men were striving to collect their debt from Great Britain, and to aid us in collecting ours. Here the Fenians received a cordial welcome from many of the citizens of St. Albans, and especially the Fenian Brotherhood, under the leadership of their acting head center, Peter Ward, and treasurer John Brown and others. Here many of the brotherhood from neighboring towns assembled with alacrity, to meet their co-patriots in the cause of Ireland. Here were assembled the Fenian scouts and spies and all the *retinue* of secret ser-

vice. Here one of the spies exhibited to the writer maps of the *route*, and plans of the fortifications and garrisons at St. Johns and Montreal, and numerous letters from fellow Fenians in various parts of Canada enclosing funds, and entreating them to make a stand on Canadian soil, and the brotherhood in Canada would rise up *en masse* and flee to their rescue, striking terror to the people and making Canada a free independent Irish Republic.

One of these letters was from a prominent British officer at St. Johns, who advised the informant to let him know the night they would be there, when he would be on duty with the right men, and surrender the entire fortification into the hands of the Fenians. Here dispatches and couriers were going forth towards Canada, and nightly the invaders were forwarding their small ordinance and muskets, before concealed in the barns and outhouses, and secret depositories along the frontier. A portion of the Fenian guard had proceeded through Swanton as far as Highgate, when a young lad in great haste, hurried to St. Armand, Canada, and gave an exaggerated account of the numbers advancing, to Capt. Peter Smith and Surgeon Brigham, in command of the volunteers at that place, and who, as the story goes, and it has never been denied — began immediately to fall back on St. Johns, about twenty miles distant. These two heroes of a thousand “imaginary battles” were the first to lead the retreat, and each with their panting war-steeds, undertook to make the best time in the race. When they reached St. Alexander, the Surgeon was ahead, and took the heat and the race — time wisely withheld to prevent the contestants from getting “a record.” The doctor, after a diagnosis of the disease, pronounced it “a run of cannon fever.”

Here, too, the United States troops and military band assembled in respectable numbers and bivouacked on the village "green," which added greatly to the martial air of the occasion and the society of the village. Here Fenians in blue looked down upon Fenians in rags, with a complacent look and sympathizing smile, as if to say "blank cartridges and lofty shooting" will be our interpretation of American neutrality from an American standpoint. Here Gen. George G. Meade, the hero of Gettysburgh, and Lieut. Porter, the son of the distinguished admiral, and other officers assembled, each armed with orders ready to watch every overt act of the Fenians, and seasonably promulgate them. They quartered at the Welden House, and a grand ball was given in their honor, and the night passed "as merrily as a marriage bell." Here the Fenians remained for three days awaiting the arrival of arms, doubtless shipped by O'Mahony to Ireland, or some other distant spot. Here they made an attack on Freligsburgh, Canada, to instruct them in neutral rights and neighborhood comity, as applied to raids and plunder, and secured a large amount of what they called their legal tender, "straw hats and high wines." They did no other damage worth mentioning at that time save to lay the foundation for a claim against "the home" government of about one million dollars which was paid and charged to the United States in offset and disallowed.

On their retreat the following day, their plunder was conspicuously displayed as trophies of a hard fought battle and victory won, and the Fenians began to disburse to their homes. Many of them were able to defray the expense to their homes, but large numbers received aid and provisions from our local authorities and citizens to prevent depredations, and returned to their homes

to "fight another day." As Artemas Ward said at the grave of Shakespeare, "it was a success."

On the 1st of June, 1866, 1200 or 1500 Fenians under Col. O'Neil crossed Niagara river at Buffalo, N. Y., and took possession of an unoccupied work called Fort Erie, near the spot where Sir Allen McNab gave lessons in neutrality in 1838, by going upon American territory and waters, and firing the American steamer "Caroline," and then cutting her loose from her moorings, sent her over the Falls of Niagara. O, history! Thou faithful chronicler of the past, how thou repeatest thyself.

On the 2d, the Fenians were attacked at a place called Limestone Ridge, and held their position, losing several killed and wounded, and many prisoners. The history of the attack, from a Canadian standpoint, was given by Lord Monck, Governor-General of Canada, to Hon. Edward Cardwell, British Colonial Secretary, in an official dispatch dated June 4th, 1866, as follows :

"Immediately on the receipt of the intelligence of an invasion, Major-General Napier pushed on by rail to Chippewa, a force consisting of artillery and regular troops under Col. Peacocke, 16th regiment. * * * A body of volunteers had come upon the Fenian encampment in the bush, and immediately attacked them, but were outnumbered and compelled to retire on Port Colburn. This occurred sometime on Saturday, June 2d. Col. Peacocke, in the meantime was advancing in the direction of Fort Erie from Chippewa, along the banks of the Niagara river, but was not able to reach the former place before night-fall."

On the 14th of June, Lord Monck thus wrote Mr. Cardwell :
 "From all the information I have received, I am now satisfied

that a very large and comprehensive plan of attack had been arranged by the party which is popularly known as the Sweney-Roberts section of the Fenian brotherhood. The place of invasion, in addition to the attempt on the Niagara frontier—the only one which actually occurred—appears to have embraced attacks on the line of the Richelieu and Lake Champlain, and also on the frontier in the neighborhood of Prescott and Cornwall, where I have reason to think the principal demonstration was intended.

For the latter object, large bodies of men sent by railroad from almost all parts of the United States were assembled at a place called Malone, in the State of New York, and at Potsdam, also in the State of New York; and with a view to the former, St. Albans and its neighborhood in the State of Vermont, was selected as the place of assemblage. Large supplies of arms, accoutrements and ammunition were also attempted to be forwarded by railroad to those points, but owing to the active interference of the authorities of the United States, as soon as it became apparent that a breach of international law had been committed by those persons, a very large portion of those supplies never reached their destination. It is not easy to arrive at a trustworthy estimate of the number of men who actually arrived at their different points of rendezvous. It has been reported at times that there were at Potsdam, Malone, and the intervening country, as many as ten thousand men, and similar rumors have been from time to time circulated, of the force at St. Albans, and its neighborhood. From the best opinion I can form, however, I shall be inclined to think that the number of Fenians in the vicinity of St. Albans never exceeded two thousand men, and

that three thousand would be a fair allowance for those assembled at Potsdam, Malone, and the surrounding countries.

The men have been represented to me as having, many of them, served in the late civil war in the United States — to have had a considerable amount of small arms of a good and efficient description. I have not heard of their possessing any artillery and am informed that they were deficient in the supplies of ammunition, and totally destitute of all the other equipments of an organized force. They appeared to have relied very much on assistance from inhabitants of the Province — as the force which invaded Fort Erie brought with them, as I am now told, a large quantity of spare arms to put into the hands of their sympathizers whom they expected to join them.

The determination of the Government of the United States to stop the transportation of men and supplies to the places of assemblage, rendered even the temporary success on the part of the Fenians impossible, while the large forces which the Lieutenant-General commanding was able to concentrate at each of the points threatened, had the effect of deterring from an attack the portions of the conspirators who had already arrived at their places of rendezvous. No invasion in force occurred except at Fort Erie. A slight incursion took place at a place called St. Armand, about thirteen miles from St. Johns, on the borders of the county of Missisquoi, which ended in the capture of about sixteen prisoners without any loss on our side. Although I deplore the loss which the volunteer force suffered when engaged on the 2d of June at Limestone Ridge, amounting to six killed and thirty-one wounded, I think it is matter of congratulation that a movement which might have been so formidable, has collapsed with so small an amount of loss either of life or property."

Lord Monck left it to the Canadian press to extol the bravery and courage of the volunteers, which for days teemed with graphic accounts of the adventures of a company called the "Queen's Own" of Toronto, and the volunteers generally.

In September following Roberts summoned a congress at Troy, N. Y., which was numerously attended. The case of Col. R. B. Lynch and a priest named McMahan who had been taken prisoners at Limestone Ridge, tried and condemned to death while only innocently watching the Fenian movements served for a long time to keep alive public attention in the United States, and about \$250,000 were raised by the brotherhood for their cause, and the excitement served to increase the numbers and influence of the Fenians largely in Canada. Through the good offices of the United States government these sentences were finally commuted.

In December following Stephens renewed his efforts to make Ireland the base of operations, and active preparations began. A plan to seize the Castle of Chester garrisoned by an Irish Regiment, was frustrated by the treachery of one Congdon. Killarney had been chosen as the center of Fenian operations in the south, and Capt. O'Conner was intrusted with the command. A considerable force of insurgents took refuge in the Galtee hills, whence they had been driven by a heavy fall of snow, and a general rising took place in Dublin in accordance with the orders of their leaders. In all these movements their plans were previously made known to the British authorities by recreant and disappointed men in the secrets of the Brotherhood. For these offenses T. F. Burke and John McCofferty were tried by a military commission and condemned to death, and their sentences were afterwards commuted to penal servitude for life. J. Boyle O'Reilly, since chief editor of the *Boston Pilot*, was banished to

Australia whence he made his escape from imprisonment into the woods, living for days on nuts, and finally putting out to sea in a small boat, and after three days' sail saw a United States merchant vessel heave in sight, and hoisting a signal of distress was taken on board her and brought to the United States. He came to St. Albans in 1870, and figured extensively in the second Fenian raid as will hereafter appear.

About this time the president of the United States was vainly applied to for the purpose of obtaining belligerent rights for the Fenians. Stephens had been relieved of the management of the organization and the future direction of the Fenians was intrusted to a committee until the fifth congress met in New York in February, 1867, when an executive committee headed by one A. A. Griffin was constituted.

Towards the end of May, 1867, a second invasion of Canada began to be agitated. Large bodies of men were seen drilling in Detroit and Buffalo, and recruiting became active and successful, and St. Albans and Ogdensburgh were spoken of as deposits of military stores and probable points of departure for a new expedition. In the mean time the parent organization had sent an expedition to Ireland.

On the 13th of April, 1867 the brig "Erin's Hope" left New York with five thousand five hundred stands of arms, three batteries of artillery, one thousand sabres, five millions rounds of small amunition, a supply of artillery amunition, and thirty-nine officers of every grade of infantry, cavalry, artillery and engineers. She reached the English and Irish coast and made several landings. Several of the officers set ashore were captured, but the military stores were brought back to New York.

In June, 1867, a convention of delegates in Manchester, England, elected Thomas J. Kelley central executive of the Irish republic. This did not meet the approval of the revolutionists. Thus arose in the home organization a division similar to that which paralyzed the Fenian brotherhood in America. The sixth national congress elected John Savage as chief executive. On the night of September 13, the police of Manchester undertook to arrest four suspicious men; two escaped and the others proved to be Col. Thomas J. Kelley and Capt. Deasy. On the 18th the van in which they were conducted was attacked and the prisoners were released, Sergeant Britt in charge of the van being killed. Subsequently five persons Allen, O'Brian, Larkin, Maguire and Condon were tried in Manchester and condemned to death though protesting their innocence. The three first were executed and the two last reprieved. A reign of terror pervaded throughout the United Kingdom and Canada, and riotous assemblages became frequent and troublesome. On the 11th of March, 1867, the Duke of Edinburgh was dangerously wounded by a supposed Fenian. On the 7th of April, 1867, Thomas Darcy McGee, a member of the Canadian Ministry, was killed at Ottawa in the public streets, his opposition to Fenianism being the motive for the deed. About this time Queen Victoria was assaulted by a supposed Fenian with a revolver.

These unfortunate events so wrought on the public mind in England that Michael Barrett was executed May 26, 1867, and British activity began to show itself. Things remained comparatively quiet until the spring of 1870, when the senatorial party of the Brotherhood on the 24th of May, assembled another expedition on the Canadian frontier.

On the 25th of May, 1870, the Fenians under General O'Neil, to the number of about two thousand in and about the expedition, attempted to effect a lodgement near Pigeon Hill, Canada, near the scene of their first incursion in 1866. Many hundreds of them were in and about St. Albans the day before, while at Malone and other points farther west on the borders they were forming large gatherings, with the evident intention of making a simultaneous attack upon Canada at many different points on the frontier.

The massing of Fenians commenced on Monday, May 23, when crowds arrived at St. Albans, Trout River, Malone and all along the frontier as far west as St. Paul, Minnesota. Telegrams from nearly all the principal northern cities indicated remarkable activity among the Fenians and also announced their departure to parts unknown. On the 23d of May, 1870, the last train from Burlington to St. Albans at night brought to St. Albans a company of forty-four men from that place. They soon formed in military order in the depot, and marched easterly towards Fairfield, much to the surprise of our citizens, as the uninitiated had no inkling of any special activity in this vicinity. The morning train of the 24th from the south brought about one hundred and twenty men from Burlington and Port Henry, N. Y., a part of whom started immediately in squads towards Fairfield, behaving well and paying their bills. They breakfasted among the farmers. The rest tarried a while in St. Albans and soon started towards Sheldon. Some of them had small bundles slung across their shoulders in the form of haversacks, containing provisions and clothing. Those going towards Fairfield took arms from the out buildings of a Fenian about two miles from St. Albans, and others deferred equipping themselves with the expectation of

getting some arms nearer the lines, During the night the movement of supplies was active. Men and teams were actively engaged in the eastern towns in Franklin County, in transporting arms and supplies from where they were concealed towards the lines. Eight loads were seen passing through Westford towards the north. In the afternoon seventeen loaded teams were seen on the east of Fairfield Pond, and under the cover of darkness they moved northward. The number of teams thus loaded were variously estimated from seventy to eighty-five. Early on the morning of the 24th several pieces of artillery, together with several wagon loads of war-like materials, passed through the easterly part of St. Albans; among them were said to be four breech loading Parrott guns with three wagons of ammunition, *en route* for the future seat of war. Several other pieces of light artillery were seen between Fairfield and Hubbard's Corner in Franklin.

Appearances readily indicated preparations for about five thousand men, and if a sudden movement had been made at that time, immense damage would have been done to the Canadian government and people, and a probable stand would have been made on Canadian soil. The following morning large numbers arrived by train from Troy, N. Y., accompanied by Major Moore, and from points beyond White River Junction, Vt., debarking from the cars at various points between Essex Junction and St. Albans, principally at the latter place. The most of them were men of military skill and experience. Among them was Capt. John Lonergan of Burlington, Vt., well known in this vicinity as a courageous and brave Union officer.

General O'Niel debarked from the cars at Georgia depot, on the night of the 24th of May, and proceeded *incog.* by private con-

veyance to Franklin, where he arrived the following morning. His presence was only known to the leaders at first. This was done to evade the United States authorities and surprise the enemy.

Our government was fully informed of the condition of affairs, and there is good authority for saying that officers delegated to look after the Fenians were instructed by government officials at Washington, D. C., to delay making arrests until there was an imperative necessity for it.

On Wednesday the 25th, the day of the battle, there was a general rally of our citizens from St. Albans and surrounding towns towards the "front," among them invited guests, reporters and strangers, ready to witness the battle. The press, ever on the alert for news, was represented by correspondents of the *New York Herald* and *Tribune*, *Boston Journal*, *Advertiser* and *Transcript*, the *Rutland Herald* and *St. Albans Messenger*. Great caution was exercised to keep a respectful distance from the field when the firing began, as they were somewhat careless about putting bullets in their guns on both sides.

The movement of the Canadian authorities had been remarkably active. Their volunteers were called out on Tuesday, the 24th of May, and Capt. Muir's cavalry left Montreal at seven o'clock that evening. On the morning of the 25th, at five o'clock, a special train with the first battalion Prince Rifle Brigade, under command of Lord A. Russell, with the Royal Highness Prince Arthur on the staff, left Bonaventure station, Montreal, en route for St. Johns, where volunteers had preceded them, to be there posted as Gen. Lindsley might see proper. They numbered seven hundred strong. Col. Smith with a detachment of troops having arrived at Stanbridge—about eight miles from

the border—late on the previous night, left early in the morning accompanied by Lieut.-Col. Chamberlain's corps for Cook's Corners, the old camping ground at the first Fenian raid. When they arrived at this place they found already before them the "Home Guards" of Dunham, commanded by Capt. Westover. Gen. Lindsley disposed of the balance of the forces, volunteers and regulars, at other points along the Huntington borders.

On the morning of the 25th, the Fenians were quartered in large numbers about Franklin Center, a short distance from the border and on the road leading thence to Cook's Corners, on the Canadian side. They had scattered their cases of arms and ammunition, which were being opened and distributed among the men. It is estimated that at this point the Fenians numbered about two thousand strong, and had arms for about two thousand more. Gen. O'Neil with Gen. Donnelly, his chief of staff, Cols. Brown and Sullivan, and Capt. Lonergan spent a part of the night at Franklin Center, and early in the morning proceeded with the advance towards the line.

As the Fenians were approaching the lines, Gen. Geo. P. Foster, United States Marshal, received a dispatch ordering the arrest of the leaders. Before doing so he remonstrated with them to dissuade them from advancing. They disregarded the proclamation of President Grant, which had then been issued, and Gen. Foster crossed the lines and informed Col. Smith that he had no troops at hand to prevent the Fenians from crossing, and the Canadians prepared at once for the onslaught. The "Home Guards" had been in position on the hill-side, about five hundred yards from the boundary line, since the night of the 24th, where in the morning they were joined by a portion of the forces under Col. Smith and Lieut.-Col. Chamberlain, and at

other near points there were ample reserves in waiting, ready to advance on an hour's notice.

The position of the Canadians was almost impregnable—the rocks and brushwood furnishing them a splendid natural shelter which they improved by throwing up rifle pits. They fought, therefore, almost under cover, and the result showed with perfect safety to themselves, and some loss to the Fenians. Before noon the Fenians marched onward. O'Neil was, or professed to have been, in high spirits. The house of Alvah Richards, about ten rods south of the border line, was chosen as the place from which to view the battle. The Fenians came down by Richards' house and passed along the road leading to Cook's Corners. Some eight rods north of the Canada line is a gully through which runs a small brook, named in some of the accounts "Chick-a-Biddy," over which the road is bridged and beyond which are the heights that were occupied by the Canadians. From Richards' house to the Canadian position was only about a quarter of a mile.

The American accounts as given by eye witnesses from an American standpoint, are that at eleven o'clock, Gen. Geo. P. Foster, United States marshal for Vermont, arrived and caused the road, which the Fenians had rendered impassable for some time, to be opened. Almost immediately orders were given to fall in and the march began. In about a hundred rods of the line, orders were given to load, and this being done the march was resumed. Very soon the red coats of the Canadians were seen skirting the edge of the woods on the side-hill to the left of the road, and when the Fenians arrived near the brick house of Alvah Richards they halted and Gen. O'Neil made a speech.

A newspaper reporter stood by his side and took it down as follows :

*“Soldiers:—*This is the advance guard of the Irish American army for the liberation of Ireland from the yoke of the oppressor. For your own country you now enter that of the enemy. The eyes of your countrymen are upon you. Forward, march !”

The advanced position having been assigned to Capt. Wm. Cronan's Burlington Company, he stepped forward and addressed Gen. O'Neil as follows :

*“General:—*I am proud that Vermont has the honor of leading this advance. Ireland may depend upon us to do our duty.”

Col. Brown, with a musket in his hands, then addressed that company and said “that he had been honored with the command of the skirmish line. He knew the men were brave and all he asked of them was to keep cool and obey orders.”

The advance was then resumed by the flank in the road, and just as Capt Cronan's company passed “Richards' house,” and were descending the little hill towards the line, which was about ten rods distant, and a skirmish line was being formed, the fight commenced by the Canadians opening a sharp volley from their concealed positions, and much nearer than the Fenians had supposed. Capt. Cronan's men immediately faced to the left and returned the fire. Gen. O'Neil was just in the rear, partially sheltered by the house, but he immediately took an exposed position and began to survey the position of the enemy through his opera glass.

The two companies that were following became excited, and would have continued so, but their officers were cool, and in an instant the men became so, and moved forward in good order to the hillside on the left. The firing became general on both

sides and continued for about an hour. It was said that Capt. Cronan crossed the line and then marched by the flank in a semi-circle, back again and to a more advantageous position, a little farther to the left.

In the midst of the engagement a newspaper reporter received "a bullet" rather than "a brick" in his hat. The bullet being less congenial than "the brick," this reporter displayed more modesty and discretion than is usually displayed by reporters, and retired to the rear with others of his associates. Thereafter they reported the further proceedings of the battle from "information and belief."

Hence I shall be compelled to give the further proceedings of the day from a garbled account written, and a picture of the battle ground and the arrest of O'Neil, given by an artist of the *Canadian Illustrated News*, "taken on the spot" as usual. He says the Fenians beginning to retreat after the first few volleys, Gen. O'Neil turned to rally them by the following speech, which I give, though it has never been produced in any American report of the battle :

"*Men of Ireland* :—I am ashamed of you. You have acted disgracefully, but you will have another chance of showing whether you are cravens or not. Comrades, we must not, we dare not, go back now with the stain of cowardice on us. Comrades, I will lead you again, and if you will not follow me, I will go with my officers and die in your front. I leave you now under command of Boyle O'Reilly."

About this time the accounts agree that Gen. O'Neil, under the mistaken apprehension that he was Gen. Donnelly, as he was near "Richards' house," was arrested by Gen. Foster, United States marshal, and his deputy, Thomas Failey, who by a grand

coup de main thrust the General into a close carriage in readiness, amidst the Fenian forces and flying bullets, and drove for some distance through numbers of approaching Fenians who little suspected that their chief was being carried from the field under arrest. .

When Gen. Foster first made his appearance within the Fenian lines he was ordered to halt, and after announcing his official character, was placed under arrest and conducted to the Fenian headquarters, where he had an interview with Gen. O'Neil under the mistaken apprehension that it was Gen. Donnelly whom he was addressing, and in total ignorance as he says that Gen. O'Neil was there present. He then entered the Canadian lines and was there again placed under arrest by the guard and conducted into the presence of the officer of the day, who proved to be the chivalrous Capt. Peter Smith with whom he was acquainted and by whom he was conducted to Col. Smith in command. He then informed the Canadians that he had been taken by surprise as to the Fenian movements and was without any warrants for their arrest, and was powerless to prevent the Fenian advance, and soon returned to the Fenian headquarters. Gen. Foster says that he never knew his prisoner was Gen. O'Neil until they had proceeded some distance towards St. Albans, when Gen. O'Neil made known the fact to him. These facts were obtained from Gen. Foster personally, shortly before his death.

Gen. Foster then told Gen. O'Neil that if he offered any resistance he might be shot, and he was hastily driven to St. Albans without warrant for his arrest and detention.

The Canadian accounts state that O'Reilly made another advance of the Fenians, and a straggling fire kept up for a time; but few casualties of a serious character occurred to the Fenians,

and none at all to the Canadians who could scarcely be seen, and that in the afternoon three companies of Fenians occupied the roads opposite the Canadians, and for a time kept up a brisk and harmless fire.

Gen. Donnelly was in command a short time during the engagement after O'Neil's arrest, but was severely wounded. Hence O'Reilly must have held a subordinate command at the time of Gen. O'Neil's arrest.

The result of the battle was as follows : Killed, John Rowe of Co. A 1st Fenian Cavalry of Burlington, Vt., shot through the throat ; M. O'Brien, Co. C 1st Fenian Cavalry, from Moriah, N. Y. Wounded, Gen. J. S. Donnelly of Utica, N. Y., chief of staff, shot in the thigh ; Lieut. Edward Hope of the Meagher Rifles of Bridgeport, Conn., through the left thigh ; Frank Carrigan of the same company dangerously wounded in the groin ; E. Cronan of Bridgeport, Conn., in the leg ; James Heenan of Fort Edward, N. Y., ankle ; Edward Hallahan of Co. C, 1st Fenian Cavalry, in the arm ; Private Charles Carleton of Cambridge, Vt., flesh wound on the leg ; Daniel Ahern of Winooski, Vt., bad wound in the hip ; and another man, name unknown. The companies of Cpts. Fitzpatrick and Conory of Bridgeport, Conn., suffered the greatest loss.

A Fenian council of war was held on the night of the 25th, and afterwards it was alleged that the demoralized effect of the arrest of Gen. O'Neil and the rigid enforcement of the president's proclamation both conspired to dishearten the leaders and the leaders and the council decided to abandon the campaign. This proved to be a mere ruse to divert attention.

The manner of Gen. O'Neil's arrest was immediately telegraphed to President Grant who pronounced it, under the circum-

stances, "one of the most ludicrous things he ever knew," as did many others, but they were unmindful of the fact that the supremacy of the law, after four years of fighting, had been so established even in the hands of a United States marshal, as to make it more potent than a Samson unshorn of his locks among the Philistines.

The Fenian Gen. Spear, in command of a like expedition at St. Albans in the raid of 1866, with Gen. Gleason, arrived in St. Albans at noon of the 26th, and urged the leaders to go to Malone and make an attack in the direction of Trout River. In the evening they held another council of war, at which Gen. Spear was chosen commander-in-chief with some dissenting votes, and they started for Malone. Just before leaving Gen. Gleason received a dispatch from Gen. O'Neil, in jail at Burlington, to the effect that he expected to be released on bail the following day, and expressing a wish that Gen. Spear be placed in command at St. Albans and Gen. Gleason at Malone, and that he (Gleason) had just received a private dispatch from Col. Leary, private secretary of the Fenian Council at New York, to the effect that large numbers of Fenians were being rapidly hurried to Malone.

Thus ended "the battle of Richards' farm," fought in Franklin, in the State of Vermont, where the killed and wounded were shot by the British firing across the lines upon the territory of the United States. The place and circumstances of these trespasses upon our territory will ere long give this battle a prominence in history which but few can realize. The Canadian accounts all presuppose that the battle was fought in Canada, which has been accepted as the truth, and no international differences or correspondence have arisen. But the real facts

are that all of the British accounts speak of "the battle of Richards' farm," which lies entirely within the territory of the United States, and the offense so far as the United States are concerned is as great as if they had planted "a seige gun" on the Canadian borders, under the circumstances, and fired upon the approaching Fenians, two miles away in Vermont.

The Canadians buried the body of the young Fenian, Rowe, upon whom was found a belt of one of the Burlington Fire Companies. He was buried under about two feet of soil, dressed, as he was, in his Fenian uniform, and with his pocket handkerchief spread across his face. About his grave the Canadians piled "a cairn," or heap of stones, fearing doubtless that the spirit of this young man might take wings and bring forth ghosts, or his ashes, like those of Napoleon at St. Helena, might bring forth crops of soldiers and again revive the Fenian cause. On Tuesday following Deputy Marshal Smalley crossed the lines and asked Col. Smith for permission to remove Rowe's body, who replied that it would be given up to the friends of the deceased, but that no Fenian should be permitted to cross over for it. A short time thereafter an undertaker from St. Albans exhumed the body, placed the same in a coffin and carried it to St. Albans *en route* for Burlington for interment.

A Canadian Irish poet closed some verses on this battle as follows :

" The bloody day at length was done.
The Faynians wanted dinner,
So o'er the line they bravely run
Beneath their waving banner.

" The mane Canadian crew were sold.
They darstn't follow after,
But kept their drooping spirits up
Wid raising shouts of laughter.

“O’Neil’s campaign so bravely fought
 Was gloriously ended,
 The I. R. A. their courage proved,
 Their pathriot cause defended.

“And the Faynian bhoys, wid little noise,
 Retreated from the front,
 As brave O’Niel, through prison bars,
 Saw Burlington, Vermont.”

As the Fenians left the battle ground they sold their arms, or cast them away by the roadside, and elsewhere, where they were seized by United States Deputy Marshal N. B. Flanagan, in behalf of the United States government. Their retreat was covered by the firing of a breech loading steel gun, about fifty yards west of “Richards’ farm,” at about six o’clock P. M., which was taken by some boys after the Fenians had abandoned it and drawn across the lines and sold to the Canadians, and which they claimed to have captured from the Fenians, and over which was displayed the usual British “bluster.” During the afternoon and night of the battle and the morning of the 26th, the retreat on St. Albans continued, and that village was again the theater of military display and disappointed hopes. Many of the Fenians were again without food or the means of transportation. The former they must have, but the latter they could forego. Our citizens and authorities again gave them food and shelter, and the necessary means of transportation to their homes. Several of the order were taken prisoners even, as alleged, on Vermont soil, and were lodged in jail at Sweetsburgh, Canada; among them Thomas Murphy of St. Albans, James Hunt and Patrick McNally, who, by the intervention of friends and the aid of the United States government, were released, much dissatisfied with Canadian public boarding houses, kept on “the European plan.”

The excitement attending the movement of the battle, and during the following summer and winter, was very great along our Canadian frontier, and throughout the Provinces of Canada, intensified no doubt by frequent anonymous dispatches from the newspaper reporters of St. Albans, who, like the immortal Washington, after he had plied that historical hatchet to the felling of that memorable tree in his father's orchard, "could not tell a lie." Nevertheless, "history" here "sleeps while fiction speaks," and the louder she speaks the more she is applauded. These reporters were possessed of the Fenian secrets and a good deal more, and frequently delighted, in the extreme exuberance of their nature, in writing, by way of retaliation, inflammatory letters for the purpose, as the youth said when he tipped over the bee-hive, of "stirring up the inmates."

Generals Meade and McDowell and their staff officers were in St. Albans on the 28th of May, and left for Malone on the same day, looking after violations of the neutrality laws. About this time the battle of Trout River was fought, resulting in a repulse of the Fenians. These two battles were said to have been mere feints to draw the Canadian forces in those directions, and permit the main force of the Fenian army, said to have been about twenty thousand strong, as indicated by the number of guns distributed in the vicinity, to rendezvous at Ogdensburgh by steamer, rail and otherwise, then cross the St. Lawrence river and proceed thence by the Ottawa railroad to the capital of Canada, cutting off all communication by rail after them. The main body did not come to time, probably by reason of the Stephens-O'Mahony disaffection, the result showing that "the best made plans of mice and men gang off aglee."

A summary of this whole affair may be best illustrated by the witicism of the Irish hunter. Shooting a bird from a lofty tree it came tumbling down upon the rocks beneath. Running to him the hunter exclaimed, "O, fool that I was to waste me powder, the fall itself would have killed him." So of the Fenian movement—their divisions alone would have killed them.

To appease the wrath of Great Britain, no doubt, Col. John H. Brown, Capt. John J. Monehan, Hugh McGinnis, Capt. Daniel Murphy and Gens. O'Neil and Donnelly were arraigned before United States Commissioners Jasper Rand and Jacob Smalley, and held for trial. Gen. O'Neil and Capt. Brown were tried in the United States court of Vermont for breaches of neutrality laws, and sentenced to the Vermont State prison at Windsor, Vermont, whence, after formally serving out a short term, they were pardoned by President Grant. Many of our countrymen would sooner have seen the tongue cleave to the roof of the mouth of any judge, though in the discharge of his lawful duty, than to have had him pronounce sentence on these brave union soldiers, one of whom was the only man who successfully foiled and captured the terror of the northern army during the war—the guerrilla, General Mosby. Others would sooner have seen Great Britain first punish one of her own offenders—which she never did, though equally culpable—before yielding to her demands for vengeance towards a home-leaving, liberty-loving and liberty-saving people!

Irish weakness has always been England's strength. Irish characteristic disaffection has always been her weakness. Had the two wings of this great organization worked together in the true spirit of conciliation, and moved their entire forces upon Canada, striking hands with their numerous friends and sympa-

thizers in the Provinces, the world might have seen the green flag of Ireland waving in triumph over a free, independent Irish Republic.

Their genial wit and humor; their proverbial eloquence and oratory; their natural heroism and bravery, and their intellectual power and enlightenment, should have disclosed to them their only element of weakness, and given them a higher and more independent nationality. On the other hand, this great movement served only to fill the ranks of the Union army; to expose to the world England's sham neutrality; to create disaffection and alarm on British territory; to engage her attention and resources in suppressing her own internal quarrels, and thereby to prevent her recognition of the so called Southern Confederacy; and above all to contribute towards preserving the government of our fathers—wrested from the grasp of a common adversary and preserved in its integrity by the patriotic blood and heroic lives of brave and devoted Irishmen hand in hand with our own countrymen in a thousand hard fought battles. They too stood with our own countrymen as sentinels on "the watch towers" of our Republic in the midst of war's deadly blasts, and saw "the star of peace" rise in all its effulgence over a free, emancipated people. From the battle of Bull Run to the surrender of Richmond these brave men were taught lessons of freedom, equality and liberty. While they could enjoy these blessings under our benign government, they naturally looked to their fatherland and its oppressed inhabitants with a yearning heart brim full of sympathy and compassion.

They expected that the American heart would at least respond in gratitude to their call for sympathy and non-intervention, and it did to a great extent. On the 27th of March, 1867, Gen.

Banks, in the National House of Representatives, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, submitted the following, which was adopted :

Resolved, That this House extends its sympathy to the people of Ireland and Canada in all their just efforts to maintain the independence of states, to elevate the people, and to extend and perpetuate the principles of liberty."

Mr. Seward also wrote Minister Adams on the 28th of March, 1867, "I assume it to be possible that some where and at some time a seditious party in Ireland may proclaim an organized insurrection, with a show of delegated authority from some portions of the Irish people. Such a proceeding is intensely expected by many citizens of the United States. That expectation excites a profound sympathy among adopted citizens of Irish birth and their descendants. It is equally manifest that the sympathy of the *whole* American people goes with such movements, for the reason that there is a habitual jealousy of British proximity across our northern border, and especially for the reason that this nation indulges a profound sense that it sustained great injury from the sympathy extended in Great Britain to the rebels during our civil war." Here is an open and avowed intimation that if union and harmony had existed among the Fenians, and thereby a proper stand had been made on Canadian soil, and an open and fair battle and victory won on that soil, the United States might have accorded belligerent rights to the so called Irish Republic.

But, on the contrary, their divided ranks—their misconceived ideas of liberating Ireland on Irish soil, with the imperial power of the British army and navy almost surrounding them, as Webster once said, "Whose morning drum beat, commencing

with the sun and keeping company with the revolving hours, surrounds the whole earth with one continuous strain of the martial air of England," and above all the demoralized situation of our own country and the exhausted condition of our resources and people, wisely prevented such a recognition at that time. As it is, the territory of our free country, vast in extent and resources, is thrown open to every emigrant. Our institutions welcome every nationality, and our natural gateways are thrown wide open to receive all who come within them, with all our national and social privileges and immunities.

O, blessed country!

"There's freedom at thy gates, and rest
For earth's down trodden and oppressed;
A shelter for the hunted head,
And for the starved laborer—toil and bread."

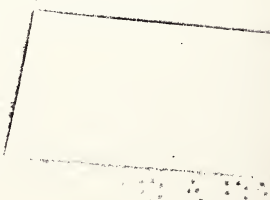
ADDRESS
ON THE
LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES
OF THE
HON. SAMUEL PRENTISS.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
AT MONTPELIER, OCT. 26, 1882, BY

E. J. PHELPS, Esq.

WITH THE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
OCTOBER 17, 1882.

MONTPELIER:
WATCHMAN & JOURNAL PRESS.
1883.



PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE LEGISLATURE.

Proceedings.

The VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY pursuant to notice met in the State House, in Montpelier, on Tuesday, the 17th day of October, A. D. 1882.

In the absence of the President and Vice Presidents of the Society, Hon. HEMAN CARPENTER was elected President *pro tempore*.

Dr. P. D. BRADFORD moved that all members of the Society who have paid their annual dues for fifteen years, or an amount equal to their annual dues for fifteen years, shall be entitled to a set of the "*Governor and Council*," which motion was agreed to.

Mr. HUSE moved that a committee of three be appointed by the President to nominate a board of officers of the Society for the year ensuing, which was agreed to.

The President named as such committee :

Dr. P. D. BRADFORD, Rev. J. H. WINSLOW, and Hon. JOSEPH POLAND ;

Who reported the following list of officers for the year ensuing :

President—Hon. E. P. WALTON, of Montpelier.

Vice Presidents—Hon. JAMES BARRETT, of Rutland ;
Rev. WM. S. HAZEN, of Northfield ; Hon. EDWARD A.
SOWLES, of St. Albans.

Recording Secretary—CHAS. W. PORTER, of Montpelier.

Corresponding Secretaries—GEO. GRENVILLE BENEDICT,
of Burlington, and Z. S. STANTON, of Roxbury.

Treasurer—HIRAM CARLETON, of Montpelier.

Librarian—HIRAM A. HUSE, of Montpelier.

Curators—Hon. R. S. TAFT, of Williston ; Dr. H. A.
CUTTING, of Lunenburg ; HIRAM A. HUSE, of Mont-
pelier ; Hon. G. A. DAVIS, of Windsor ; FRED. DUTCHER,
of St. Albans ;

And they were duly elected.

The report of the Treasurer was read, accepted and
adopted.

Mr. PORTER moved that Hon. JUSTUS DARTT, of Weath-
ersfield, A. D. TENNEY, of St. Albans, and THOMAS A.
KINNEY, of St. Albans, be elected resident members of
the Society, which was agreed to.

Mr. BLISS moved that ASAPH P. CHILDS be elected a
resident member of the Society, which was agreed to.

Mr. HUSE moved that Hon. JAMES BARRETT be invited
by the President to address the Society at some future
meeting, upon the Life and Services of the late GEORGE
P. MARSH, which was agreed to.

Mr. HUSE moved that a committee be appointed by the President, to secure, if possible, an address before the Society on the Life and Services of the late Judge PIER-POINT, which was agreed to.

The President appointed as such committee: C. W. PORTER and J. H. LUCIA.

Mr. PORTER gave notice, in accordance with Art. VII, of the Constitution of the Society, that, at the next annual meeting, it would be moved to amend Art. VII of the Constitution, so that it shall read as follows:

There shall be one biennial and occasional meetings of the Society. The biennial meeting for the election of officers shall be at Montpelier, on the Tuesday preceding the third Wednesday of October, in the years of the sessions of the Legislature. The special meetings shall be at such times and place as the Board of Managers shall determine.

Dr. H. A. CUTTING moved that a list of the members of the Society be prepared by the Treasurer, showing the year when they became members; which was agreed to.

Dr. BRADFORD moved that the Secretary be directed to endeavor to secure the use of Representatives' Hall, for the address of Hon. E. J. PHELPS, before the Society, on the Life and Services of Judge PRENTISS; which was agreed to.

Dr. BRADFORD moved that Mr. HUSE, Mr. PORTER, Mr. CARLETON and Dr. CUTTING, be appointed a committee to take such measures as they may deem necessary to induce the State to make suitable provision for the protection of the library and collections of the Society.

On motion of Mr. PORTER, the following resolution was adopted :

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society are hereby presented to FREDERICK J. PRENTISS, Esq., of Greenport, Long Island, for an excellent portrait of the late Hon. SAMUEL PRENTISS, from the easel of THOMAS W. WOOD.

On motion of Mr. HUSE, the Society adjourned until Oct. 26th, at 7 o'clock, P. M.

The Society met, pursuant to order of adjournment, on the 26th of October, A. D. 1882, at 7 o'clock, P. M.

Hon. E. J. PHELPS, of Burlington, delivered an address before the Society, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, on the Life and Public Services of Judge SAMUEL PRENTISS.

On motion, the Society adjourned.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN
OF THE
VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

OCTOBER 17, 1882.

To the Vermont Historical Society:

The following are the additions to the library:

Books, bound, volumes	408
Pamphlets.....	2279
Newspapers, &c.....	20
Manuscripts.....	42
Other Articles.	14
Total	2763

A list of donors and others from whom the above have been received is hereto appended.

After the list above named will be found a list of Early Vermont newspapers.

Respectfully submitted,

HIRAM A. HUSE, *Librarian.*

LIST OF DONORS.

INSTITUTIONS.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, Worcester. Proceedings, N. S., Nos. 1, 2, 3 of vol. 1 ; No. 1 of vol. 2 ; Index.

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CANADA. Geological Survey 1878-9 ; 1879-80, and maps.

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MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections, vol. 8.
MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Fund Publication, Nos. 16, 17.
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MINNESOTA ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES. Bulletins.
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EARLY VERMONT NEWSPAPERS.

[The following is a list of early Vermont newspapers compiled at the request of S. N. D. North, Esq., of the Census Department. A full account of the first coming in of the printing business to the State of Vermont would be of much interest; and even its most material relic, the old press now in the State House, has a history that will be very readable when written, as I hope it soon will be, by Robert Perkins, formerly of Woodstock and now on the editorial staff of the Springfield Republican. Mr. M. D. Gilman's valuable Bibliography of Vermont was of the greatest assistance in making this list, and Mr. Walton's researches were also of great help. The list gives the newspapers, with proprietorships and titles, down to the year 1810.]

1. THE VERMONT GAZETTE, OR GREEN MOUNTAIN POST BOY, Westminster, printed by Judah Paddock Spooner and Timothy Green. First issue Monday, February 12, 1781; suspended 1782, or early in 1783.

2. THE VERMONT GAZETTE, OR FREEMEN'S DEPOSITORY, Bennington, printed by (Anthony) Haswell and (David) Russell. First issue June 5, 1783; suspended finally in 1880.

The proprietorship of this paper to 1810 was as follows: June 5, 1783 to October 25, 1790, Haswell & Russell; November 1, 1790 to August 12, 1796, Anthony Haswell; August 19, 1796 to December 29, 1796, printed by C. Merrill for Anthony Haswell; January 5, 1797 to April 6, 1797, (Orsamus C.) Merrill and (Reuben) Langdon; April 13, 1797 to August 31, 1797, Orsamus C. Merrill; September 5, 1797 to March, 1800, Anthony Haswell;

March 6, 1800 to March 23, 1801, printed by Anthony Haswell for the proprietors; March 30, 1801 to January 3, 1803, Anthony Haswell; January, 1803 to April 6, 1803, the paper suspended; April 6, 1803 to March 27, 1804, Anthony Haswell & Co.; April 3, 1804 to July 24, 1804, Anthony Haswell, who then announced suspension of the paper; August 7, 1804 to August 28, 1804, printed for Anthony Haswell; September 4, 1804 to January, 1806, Anthony Haswell and Benjamin Smead; January 13, 1806, Benjamin Smead, who was succeeded by William Haswell, April 8, 1811.

The titles of this paper to 1810 were as follows: June 5, 1783 to May 31, 1784, "The Vermont Gazette, or Freeman's Depository"; June 7, 1784 to Dec. 29, 1796, "The Vermont Gazette"; January 5, 1797 to August 31, 1797, "Tablet of the Times"; September 5, 1797 to March 23, 1801, "The Vermont Gazette"; March 30, 1801 to September 21, 1801, Haswell's Vermont Gazette revived"; September 28, 1801 to April 12, 1802, "Haswell's Vermont Gazette"; April 19, 1802 to January 3, 1803, "Vermont Gazette"; April 6, 1803 to January 6, 1806, "Vermont Gazette"; January 13, 1806 to February (3?) 1807, "The Vermont Gazette, an Epitome of the World"; February (24?) 1807 to (September 21?) 1807, "Epitome of the World"; (October 26?) 1807 to April 3, 1809, "The World"; April 10, 1809, "Green Mountain Farmer," which name was retained till the Vermont Gazette title was restored in 1816.

3. THE VERMONT JOURNAL AND THE UNIVERSAL ADVERTISER, Windsor, printed by (George) Hough and (Alden) Spooner. First issue Thursday, August 7, 1783, continued and now the Vermont Journal, published by the Journal Company. The partnership of Hough & Spooner was dissolved December 19, 1788. The last issue bearing their names is December 22, 1788, and with the number for December 29, 1788, the name of Alden Spooner appears alone. Mr. Spooner ran the paper about thirty years after that.

The title was changed March 20, 1792, to "Spooner's Vermont Journal," and so continued till several years after 1810.

4. THE HERALD OF VERMONT, OR RUTLAND COURIER, Rutland, by Anthony Haswell. First issue Monday, June 25, 1792; last issue September 10, 1792; cause of suspension, burning of the office September 16, 1792.

5. THE FARMERS' LIBRARY, OR VERMONT POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL REGISTER, Rutland. Printed by James Lyon. First issue Monday, April 1, 1793. Last issue November 29, 1794. The office was sold to S. Williams & Co.; (Rev. Samuel Williams, LL. D., and Judge Samuel Williams.)

6. THE RUTLAND HERALD, OR VERMONT MERCURY, Rutland. Printed for S. Williams & Co. First issue December 8, 1794; continued and now published as the Rutland Herald and Globe, by the Herald Association.

Proprietors: December 8, 1794 to January 2, 1797, S. Williams & Co.; January, 1797 to February 20, 1797, S. Williams, (the Doctor); February

27, 1797 to August 28, 1797, Williams & (Josiah) Fay; September 4, 1797 to July 30, 1798, when Dr. Williams and Josiah Fay dissolved partnership, S. Williams & Co.; August 6, 1798 the paper was printed for S. Williams, LL. D. William Fay succeeded Dr. Williams, and was proprietor in 1810, The early printers of the paper for the publishers were J. Kirkaldie, John S. Hutchins, Joshua Fay, John Walker, Jr., and William Fay.

The title of this paper was: December 8, 1794 to June 22, 1795, "The Rutland Herald, or Vermont Mercury;" June 29, 1795 to August 27, 1798, "The Rutland Herald, a Register of the Times;" September 3, 1798 and after, "The Rutland Herald."

7. THE FARMERS' LIBRARY, OR FAIR HAVEN TELEGRAPH, Fair Haven, printed by J. P. Spooner and W. Hennessy. First issue July 28, 1795. William Hennessy retired March, 1796, and thereafter Judah Paddock Spooner was sole proprietor, till he suspended publication March 2, 1797, for a number of weeks at least. The paper was again running in November, 1797, under the title of "The Farmers' Library or Vermont and New York Intelligencer," and suspended finally in 1798.

There is high authority to the effect that Col. Matthew Lyon established a paper in Fair Haven in 1793, called first "The Farmers' Library," and then "The Fair Haven Gazette"; but I believe that this is a mistake, and that the first Fair Haven paper was the one started by Spooner and Hennessy.

8. FEDERAL GALAXY, Brattleboro, Printed by Benjamin Smead. First issue January 3, 1797. Suspended 1802.

9. BURLINGTON MERCURY, Burlington, Donnelly & Hill. Begun in 1797; suspended 1799: so runs the record.

A poetical-political squib in the Vermont Gazette of September 8, 1798, names the eight newspapers of Vermont, as then being, Federal Galaxy, The Argus, The (Spooner's Vermont) Journal, The (Rutland) Herald, The Green Mountain Patriot, the Vergennes Gazette and The Vermont Gazette. "The Mercury" is not named; whether it had suspended then, had a second title, "The Argus," or was miscalled, is not determinable with the material and time at command. The name "The Argus," if used now would be well understood; but what paper did the term apply to in 1798?

10. GREEN MOUNTAIN PATRIOT, Peacham. Printed by Farley & (Samuel) Goss. First issue February 1, 1798. Suspended March, 1807.

11. VERGENNES GAZETTE, Vergennes. Samuel Chipman. First issue August, 1798. Suspended; probably not a long-lived paper. Perhaps continued till the "printing office" of Chipman & Fessenden was burned, the night of October 27, 1801.

12. WEEKLY WANDERER, Randolph. Sereno Wright, S. Wright & J. Denio, June 27, or July 4, 11, 18 or 25, 1801, to April 10 or 17, 1802; then Sereno Wright again. First issue December 27, 1800. Suspended about 1810.

13. VERMONT CENTINEL, Burlington. J. H. Baker. First issue, March 19, 1801. Suspended 1830.

Baker was succeeded by Josiah King, October 12, 1804; October, 1805, to April, 1806, it was printed by Baker for the proprietors; April, 1806, to October, 1806, Daniel Greenleaf and Samuel Mills; and from October, 1806, for a dozen years, Samuel Mills. In 1810, the name was changed to "Northern Centinel."

14. WINDSOR GAZETTE, Windsor, Nahum Mower. First issue, March 3, 1801. Suspended; perhaps on the establishment of the Post Boy, by Mower, late in 1804.

15. MIDDLEBURY MERCURY, Middlebury, (Joseph D.) Huntington & (John) Fitch. First issue December 16, 1801. Suspended June 27, 1810.

16. VERMONT MERCURY, Rutland, Stephen Hodgman. First issue about Monday, February 28, 1802. Running in 1803, but suspended probably not long after.

17. THE REPORTER, Brattleboro, William Fessenden. First issue February, 1803; merged in Messenger about 1826.

18. THE POST BOY, AND VERMONT AND NEW HAMPSHIRE FEDERAL COURIER, Windsor, Nahum Mower. First issue December, 1804. Suspended 1808.

19. NORTHERN MEMENTO, Woodstock, Isaiah Carpenter. First issue May, 1805. Suspended February, 1806.

20. VERMONT PRECURSOR, Montpelier, Clark Brown. First issue November, 1806. Sold, September, 1807, to Samuel Goss, who changed the name to "The Watchman." Samuel Goss sold in 1810 to Ezekiel P. Walton and Mark Goss, who as Walton & Goss conducted the paper about seven years, when Mr. Goss retired. Continued as "Vermont Watchman and State Journal," by W. W. Prescott.

21. NORTH STAR, Danville, Ebenezer Eaton. First issue January 13, 1807. Continued by Anson Hoyt.

22. ST. ALBANS ADVISER, St. Albans, Rufus Allen. Established about 1807. Suspended 1808.

23. VERMONT COURIER, Rutland, Thomas M. Pomeroy. First issue July 25, 1808. Suspended May 30, 1810.

24. THE INDEPENDENT FREEHOLDER AND REPUBLICAN JOURNAL, Brattleboro, Peter Houghton. Established about 1808; suspended after a short life.

25. VERMONT REPUBLICAN, Windsor, Oliver Farnsworth, for the proprietors. First issue, January 1, 1809. In 1810, Farnsworth & (Sylvester) Churchill were proprietors; suspended 1834.

26. CHAMPLAIN REPORTER, St. Albans, Morton and Willard. Established April or May, 1809; suspended in spring of 1811.

27. FREEMAN'S PRESS, Montpelier, Derrick Sibley. First issue August

25, 1809. In 1811 Wright, Sibley & Co. published it; in 1812 Wright & Sibley; suspended 1816.

28. THE WASHINGTONIAN, Windsor, Josiah Dunham. First issue July 23, 1810. Thomas M. Pomeroy was printer. It was published as late as July 10, 1813.

PERIODICALS.

1. THE MONTHLY MISCELLANY, OR VERMONT MAGAZINE, Bennington. Begun by A. Haswell, March, 1794. Soon discontinued.

2. THE RURAL MAGAZINE, OR VERMONT REPOSITORY, Rutland, S. Williams & Co. First number for January, 1795; continued monthly for two years.

3. THE SCOURGE OF ARISTOCRACY, AND REPOSITORY OF IMPORTANT POLITICAL TRUTHS, Fair Haven, James Lyon. Twice a month. First issue October 2, 1798, suspended 1799. This in form was a magazine; in reality a political newspaper.

4. HASWELL'S MENTAL REPAST, Bennington, A. Haswell, monthly. First issue, January, 1808. Soon suspended.

SAMUEL PRENTISS

AN ADDRESS

BEFORE THE

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BY

E J PHELPS

DELIVERED IN THE REPRESENTATIVES' HALL
MONTPELIER OCT 26 1882

REPORTED BY J R PEMBER

ADDRESS.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Historical Society:

I have been invited to say something before you, touching the life and character of SAMUEL PRENTISS. In the lack of a better substitute, I did not feel at liberty to decline; but I can offer you nothing in response, that shall come up to the mark of a finished essay, or an elaborate address. I have not explored the usual materials of the biographer; I have not been able—indeed I have not cared—to put anything upon paper; I have rather preferred to try to set before you, in a simple and familiar way, my own recollections of the man; to sketch his portrait for you, as well as I can, in rough crayon, as it remains, and will always remain in my memory. If the color of the picture should appear to any of you too warm, if it should seem rather the tribute of an admiring friendship, than the cool discrimination of the historian, I shall make no apology for that. You will be quite at liberty to bear in mind, that the recollections I am drawing upon, are those of my youth; and that the enthusiasm and reverence that are youth's happiest gift, leave in all later years their after-glow upon the memories of their time. It is well for us, those of us who live to be old, that it is so. It is beneficently ordered, that the old man shall be

always the *laudator temporis sui*, the eulogist of his own day. I was warmly attached to Judge Prentiss in his life time; I honor and revere his memory more than that of most men I have known; and I have known many. My father and he were bound together, all the days of their lives, by the intimacy of an uncommon friendship.

*“And sacred was the hand that wrote
Thy father’s friend forget thee not.”*

Judge Prentiss was in all senses of the word, an old fashioned man. His active life was passed within the earlier half of this century. He came to the bar of Vermont in 1802, and he died in 1857. Historically speaking, the interval since then is not very long; but in the rapid development of American society, it is a good while. In all the changes and chances of life, there is nothing that so forcibly illustrates the saying of the Scripture, that “the fashion of this world passeth away,” as the changes and the differences in the generations of men. They succeed each other in a perpetual succession, yet no two are ever alike, but in the certainty of their disappearance. Each has its own character, its own successes, its own imperfections, its own memories. History therefore, whether personal or national, must be regarded from the point of view of its own age; it is idle to try to estimate it in the light of ours. Judge Prentiss belonged to his own time. He was the product of the early days of Vermont. There is something easier to state than to describe, in the influence of the time upon the quality of the men produced in the beginning of a state. It is akin to what is seen in some agricultural products, which are better in the virgin soil than any cultivation can ever make them afterwards. Whether it is in the dignity of their employment as the founders of in-

stitutions, whether it is in the vigor and freshness which attend the youth of a state, like the youth of life, or whether such emergencies bring to the surface and into conspicuous view a higher order of men, whatever the reason may be, the fact remains ; the fathers are larger than the children. But when we eulogize the virtue and the advantages of the past, we do not necessarily disparage the present. I am not one of those who believe that the world degenerates as it grows older. As change is the condition of life, so compensation is an unfailing condition of change. For whatever time takes away, it compensates in what it brings. Much that is precious perishes as it passes ; but with new life comes always new beneficence.

The events of Judge Prentiss' life can be rapidly told. They are few and simple. He was born in Connecticut, in 1782, of a good old stock, who traced back their lineage to an excellent family in England. His great-grandfather fought for the king in the old French war, and his grandfather fought against the king, a colonel in the revolutionary war. He came to Vermont, which was the El Dorado of the best young blood of Connecticut in those times, and was admitted to the bar in 1802, before he was twenty-one years of age. He practiced law in Montpelier until 1825, when he was made a judge of the Supreme Court. In 1829 he became chief justice. In 1830 he was elected to the United States Senate, and again in 1836. In 1841 he was appointed judge of the United States District Court for Vermont, and held that office until he died in 1857, at the age of seventy-five, leaving twelve children, and a very moderate estate. That is the whole story. Thirty-two years' continuous public service ; yet the events of his life are substantially comprised in these few words. But the best lives are not made up of events ; they are made up of qualities and of

attainments. And simple as are the incidents that are now to be gathered of that life, it was beyond question one of the best and purest of the many good lives Vermont has been blessed with.

I may briefly consider (for I can touch but briefly upon anything to-night,) his life in these four successive epochs, as a lawyer at the Vermont bar, as a judge and chief justice of the Supreme Court of his State, as a senator of the United States, and as a judge of the federal court of this district.

He practiced law, I have said, for twenty-three years. The phrase is one very commonly employed, and has very different meanings. The small pettifogger practices law, to the infinite mischief of the community he lives in. And there is another class, to whom that term of reproach cannot properly be applied, but who content themselves with finding in the practice of the law a sort of genteel trade, out of which some sort of a livelihood is to be extracted without much labor; who never begin to have a conception of the nobility or the scope of a profession, that has been well declared to be "as honorable as justice, and as ancient as the forms of law"; who never study it as a science, or in any large way, but content themselves with such little miscellaneous acquirements as may answer the purposes of the small controversies of their locality. And therefore it is, that good men outside of the profession are sometimes puzzled to understand how it should be exposed to the sharp and bitter criticism often applied to it, and at the same time should be the subject of the lofty eulogy heard in the best quarters in regard to it. It is because there are lawyers and lawyers; lawyers small and great, useful and mischievous. There are those who belong to the trade, and there are those who belong to the profession.

Judge Prentiss' life as a lawyer was of course before my time. My personal acquaintance with him began when he was in the Senate of the United States. What I know of his previous career I have gathered from those who did know him, who are older than I, from the records he has left behind him, and from what I infer, from my subsequent acquaintance, must have been his character and qualities, when he was a younger man.

In the first place, although a country lawyer in the then little village of Montpelier, and in the small, rural, isolated state of Vermont, he proceeded to acquaint himself, by the most careful and judicious and far-reaching study, with the whole range of the common law, and all its kindred topics. He did not terminate his labors with those subjects that were likely to turn up for discussion in the Washington County Court. He acquainted himself, I repeat, with the whole range and fabric of the common law, from its earliest foundations, and from the dawnings of its first fundamental principles. He learned the law as the perfection of reason, and the science of justice. And then he brought to bear upon the practice of it, the elevation of character and purity of motive that were born to him, and which he displayed in every relation of life. He felt and acted upon the conviction, that the lawyer as well as the judge is one of the ministers of justice; that he as well as the judge is a sworn officer of the court; that the administration of justice is his business, and not its perversion; and that he is charged with his share of its duty, its responsibility, and its repute. No mean cause, no disreputable client, no fraud to be vindicated, no wrong to be achieved, no right to be defeated, no assassin to be turned loose upon the community, ever engaged the services of Judge Prentiss. Though the legal reports of

the state were far more meagre at that period than they are now, they are sufficient to indicate to those who care to resort to them, the manner of business he was engaged in. And the consequence was, that although at that day Vermont was full of able lawyers, and although the limited facilities for transportation were such as to confine the bar of the state principally to the business of their own counties, Judge Prentiss more than any other man in Vermont was called upon to go to various parts of the state; I might almost say to all parts of the state in which any considerable courts were then held, and always in important cases. Such a lawyer as he was, contributes to the law and the justice of his country more than most people are aware of. He is helping all the time, not only the particular business in hand—the interests with which he is charged—but he is helping the court; he is helping to educate and maintain the court. Wise and able judges feel that sensibly. The argument that may fail of its application to day, is seed sown upon good ground. The effect of it comes afterwards, and bears fruit in the general law of the land.

Such was the course of Judge Prentiss at the bar. And it is not surprising, that in the year 1822, a seat upon the bench of the Supreme Court was offered to him, and pressed upon his acceptance. Probably at that time there were few men in the State of Vermont better qualified to fill it. He alone of all the bar, with a characteristic modesty that was throughout his life beyond any exhibition of that quality I ever knew, declined it. He distrusted the ability that nobody else distrusted. But three years afterward, when the office was again pressed upon him, with no little reluctance he took his seat upon the bench. It is very noticeable in the reports how considerable a time elapsed before he could bring himself to be the organ of the

court in pronouncing its opinions. He cast that duty upon his senior brethren. His associates upon the bench were Chief Justice Skinner, Titus Hutchinson, and Bates Turner, and afterwards Charles K. Williams, and Stephen Royce, names among the most honorable in our judicial history. But in due time he began to write and deliver opinions, and some of them remain, fortunately for his reputation. Only a part of them, because, as I have said, the reports were more meagre then than now. They speak for themselves. It is true, they deal largely with questions that have been now so long settled that we have little occasion to go back to read upon the subjects. But the lawyer who is desirous of seeing what manner of man he was, and what sort of a court he belonged to, and who will take the trouble to peruse these opinions, will discover that they are distinguished, in the first place, by the most complete knowledge of the science of the law. And he will find, in the next place, that their conclusions are arrived at by logical deductions from fundamental principles, in a manner that to every capacity becomes perfectly luminous and decisive. And finally, that in every instance, the case the court is concerned with, had been the subject of the most careful, thoughtful consideration, until nothing that bore upon the conclusion was overlooked, forgotten, or misunderstood.

Some people are coming to think in these days, that a judge can be manufactured out of almost any sort of material. And it is true enough, that almost any man can sit upon the bench, can hear causes, and after some fashion can decide them; and the world will go along; there will be no earthquake; there will be no interruption of human affairs; he will fill the office. But by and by it will come to be discovered, that the law of the land, which apparently has lost nothing of

its learning, has wonderfully lost its justice; that conclusions that by learned reasons and abstruse processes have been reached, are not consonant with justice, and establish rules that cannot be lived under. As the common people say, they may be law, but they are not right. There is philosophical and sufficient reason for this result. It is inevitable. Justice under the common law cannot be administered in the long run by an incapable man. And he is an incapable man for that purpose, who is not a master of the principles of the law, by a knowledge systematic, comprehensive and complete. Because those principles are the principles of justice. They are designed for justice. The law has no other reason, no other purpose. The judge who draws his conclusions from this source, will keep within the limits of justice. The judge who is groping in the dark, and depending upon lanterns to find his way, who is swayed and swerved by the winds, the fancies, and the follies of the day, and by the fictitious or indiscriminating learning that finds its way into multiplied law books, will reach conclusions which laymen perhaps cannot answer, but which mankind cannot tolerate. Such courts lose public confidence, and business forsakes them. It is an invariable truth, that the more thorough the legal acquirements of the judge, the nearer his decisions approach to ultimate justice.

I believe I am correct in saying that none of the decisions in which Judge Prentiss participated, have ever since been departed from. I think our Supreme Court has not found it necessary in the course of subsequent experience, (and it is human experience that tries the soundness of legal conclusions,) to overrule or materially to modify them.

In 1830, as I have remarked, Judge Prentiss was elected to the United States Senate; we may well imagine, upon no so-

licitation of his own ; and went to Washington to take his seat. And there, as I have also remarked, I became personally acquainted with him.

And you will pardon me if I digress to say a word about that body, as it existed when I saw it for the first time. To comprehend what Prentiss was, it is necessary to comprehend what were his surroundings, and who were his associates. I venture to say that this world, so far as we have any account of it, has never seen assembled a legislative body, which on the whole, and taking all things into account, could compare with the United States Senate at that period of our history. Not the Roman Senate, in its most august days ; not the Parliament of England, when Burke and Pitt and Sheridan made its eloquence immortal ; not that revered body of men who assembled together to create our constitution. In the first place, it was made up by the selection of undoubtedly the very best men in every state in the Union, who could be furnished out of the political party which had the ascendancy in the state for the time being. The consequence was, that they were almost without exception, men of the largest and most distinguished ability ; and only the presence of the great leaders I shall refer to presently, prevented almost any member of that body from assuming a position of acknowledged leadership. Though party conflicts at times ran high, their contentions were based, upon both sides, upon the constitution, and upon the broadest and most statesmanlike views. Men might well differ, as they differed, about the right and wrong of the questions and issues of the day. Much was to be said upon both sides. But one thing was to be said on all sides ; and that was that no man need be ashamed of being upon either side ; because the groundwork of all was broad and statesmanlike and defensible.

There was besides, a dignity, a courtesy, an elegance of deportment pervading the deliberations of that assembly, that could not fail to impress everybody who had the advantage of coming into its presence. No coarse personalities, no vulgarity of language or conduct, no small parliamentary trick or subterfuge was ever tolerated. And rarely have been brought together a body of men of such uniformly striking and distinguished personal presence.

Time does not allow me even to name more than two or three of its members. I might cite almost the whole roll of the Senate in illustration of what I have said. Their names remain upon record as part of our history. It was once said that to have known a certain beautiful woman was a liberal education. I could say with far less exaggeration, that for an American citizen, and especially a young American citizen, to have known and seen the United States Senate of that day, was a liberal education in what it most behooves an American citizen to know. He would have learned there, in such manner as never to forget, the difference between the gentleman and the charlatan, between the politician and the statesman, between the leader of men, who guides and saves his nation, and the demagogue who traffics in its misfortunes, and fattens upon its plunder.

I have alluded to the great leaders who controlled the policy, guided the action, and gave character to the deliberations of that body. In their presence there could be no other leaders. And I refer to only three of them, Mr. Webster, Mr. Clay, and Mr. Calhoun.

Nothing can be said of Webster at this day, that enlightened people do not know. As he said of Massachusetts, the world knows him by heart. But those who are too young to have

seen him, can never know, after all, splendid as the works are that he left behind him, the manner of man he was, as he appeared in those days—the prime and flower of his life. His very presence was an irresistible magnetism. He could not pass through the streets of Washington, but everybody turned to regard or to follow him. He was never out of the public eye. Every word that he spoke was listened to, almost as if it had been a revelation. Far beyond all men I ever saw, he possessed that well nigh supernatural personal magnetism that gave an indescribable power to words, which when repeated by another seemed to have no unusual significance. He was the great advocate, the luminous and decisive reasoner, whose language not only impressed the Senate, but eagerly waited for, sank deep into the best intelligence of the country.

Clay, though a great man, was as different from Webster as the rockbound coast of Massachusetts is different from the blue grass pastures of Kentucky. He was the acknowledged leader of the whig party, as Webster was its greatest luminary. What Webster said, passed into the permanent literature of the country, the most permanent we have. What Clay said, was like charming music; its immediate effect was powerful, but when it was over, it was gone; nothing remained. Every school-boy can recite the splendid passages of Webster's eloquence. The best educated man to-day, could hardly without preparation repeat one line from Clay. And yet no speaker had a greater magnetic power over his audience while they listened. His manner was splendid. It was overpowering. The young man who came within the scope of it was carried away captive; he was a Clay man as long as he lived. And the audience that fell under a spell impossible to describe, because no trace of it remains, were carried along with him almost wherever

he chose. He was as imperious in his leadership, as splendid even in his arrogance, as he was in his courtesy. He could fascinate; he could overcome. He was a born leader, a statesman by birthright, the originator of great measures. He carried the feeling of the country, as Webster did its convictions.

Very different from either, was the third of that great triumvirate of American statesmen, Mr. Calhoun, to whose character we at the North have hardly done justice. His political opinions are all gone by, never to be revived. However we may dissent from them, the man himself, now that the conflict is over, should be estimated as he was. He was of a singularly upright, sincere, and disinterested personal character, simple yet elegant in manner, reserved in his intercourse with the world, shunning publicity as far as possible, but warm in his attachments to his friends. No man was ever more beloved by the people of his section. If they could have made a President, he would have been their choice. His intellect was more keen, subtle and incisive than broad, and disciplined to the last degree by study and thought. His views were philosophical rather than practical, those of the student rather than of the manager of affairs. As a speaker, his sole weapon was pure reason, without rhetoric or eloquence. He digressed neither to the right hand nor to the left. Fluent of speech, earnest, but impassive as a statue, faultless in language, the stream of calm, subtle, unbroken logic, disdaining ornament, and declining the ordinary resources of the orator, was fascinating to the listener, and almost irresistible in its persuasion, however dangerous in its conclusions.

Through it all ran a tinge of unexpressed melancholy, the half conscious sadness of the prophet who foresees the coming sorrow, that is hid from the common eye. The undisputed

leader of Southern political thought, he was the author of the constitutional theory that culminated after many years in the war of the rebellion: that the Union is a partnership of states, that can be dissolved at will, not a government established by the people, perpetual in its character. To the maintenance of this proposition and its various corollaries, all the resources of his tireless ability were devoted. Utterly as it has since been refuted, there was a time when in Mr. Calhoun's hands it seemed well nigh unanswerable. No ordinary constitutional lawyer was qualified to meet it. When Mr. Hayne's great speech on this subject was made, in 1830, (and it was a great speech,) its whole material was a reproduction of the views of Mr. Calhoun, then Vice President. Northern men gathered in dismay and said, "can it be answered?" And one man came to Mr. Webster with the question, "can it be answered?" "We shall see, sir," replied he, "we shall see—tomorrow." And on the morrow the country did see, and never forgot. They saw the Southern idea utterly demolished, with a logic that convinced all minds, and an eloquence that melted all hearts. Then and there it was, that "the lost cause" was lost. There was the first great battle. If the Calhoun construction of the constitution had been sound, secession would have been right. And if right, it would have succeeded. The lofty and noble proposition set forth by Mr. Webster—that our government is greater than a partnership, and more durable than a contract—a Union now and forever, with which liberty itself is one and inseparable—sank deep into the hearts of Northern men, and remained there. It was this conviction that brought them up to the demands of the final crisis, and enabled them to vindicate on the field what had been demonstrated in the Senate. They were thrice armed, when their quarrel was shown to be just.

The echoes of that great eloquence still lingered round the Capitol, and the answering public sentiment was strong. No man saw more clearly than Mr. Calhoun did, for his foresight was far-reaching, that the cause he contended for had received its death blow; that the North would never yield the point. But he clung to it still, with the tenacity and the sadness of despair. Involved, as he thought, were the civilization, the institutions, the social life, the prosperity, that were precious to his people, and dear to himself. Again and again he marshalled in its support that strong and brilliant minority who trusted and followed him. With will unconquerable, with intellect inexhaustible, but with unfailing self-command and knightly courtesy, he fought still for the smitten cause and the forlorn hope. Always respected by his opponents, his personal dignity he never lost. He was a power in the Senate, though not its greatest power; not its largest figure, but one of its most striking, most interesting, most fascinating.

Such were the men who gave leadership and character to the United States Senate in those days. And such were they who were associated with those leaders.

Into that stately assembly walked, in 1830, one of the most modest, reticent, quiet, gentlemen that ever lived; with no self-assertion, seeking no leadership, making few speeches, taking nothing at all upon himself, the representative of one of the smallest and most rural states of the Union, with no ambition to gratify, no purposes of his own to serve. But he came there, not to be inquired of by his distinguished associates, "Friend, how camest thou in hither?" He came to take his place from the first, and to retain it to the last, as their acknowledged peer. No man in that Senate was more thoroughly respected and esteemed. No man was more listened to, when on comparatively

rare occasions he thought proper to address them. No man's opinion had more weight; no man's intimacy was more courted by the great men I have alluded to, than that of Samuel Prentiss. His position there, and his standing in the Senate, were such that he not only represented, but honored his state. It was a remarkable exhibition of the influence of high character, and of quiet intellectual force. He came to be regarded by many as the best jurist in the Senate, yet no jurist said so little on the subject. Although Judge Story was then sitting, in the height of his fame, on the bench of the Supreme Court, Chancellor Kent declared that he regarded Judge Prentiss as the first jurist in New England. And what was a great deal better than that, he was a man of an independence of character that nothing could swerve. One might suppose from what I have said of his modesty and gentleness, his consideration for others and his distrust of himself, that he would be a man who could be easily swayed and influenced. He was like the oak tree, its branches bending in the breeze, the trunk solid and immovable. When the bankrupt law was passed in 1840, though it was strenuously urged by the Whig party, to which Judge Prentiss belonged, he opposed it. He stood out against the almost universal public demand; and he made a speech against it, which was said on all hands to be the ablest speech of the whole debate. He could stand alone well enough, when there was anything worth standing out about. The subsequent history of that bankrupt law demonstrated that Judge Prentiss was right. It was an ill advised, hasty piece of legislation, which Congress were glad afterwards to abandon and repeal.

I cannot dwell upon incidents of his senatorial career. I cannot rehearse or repeat anything from his speeches. I must pass superficially over much that might be dwelt on. The

flyiug hour admonishes me that I must hasten on. One single passage let me quote from memory—and I can repeat substantially his language—in a speech made in the United States Senate in 1841, when in his own quiet and modest way, he expressed what was the guiding principle of his public and political life. “I would not be understood,” he says, “as undervaluing popularity, because I disclaim it as a rule of conduct. I am quite too humble and unpretending an individual to count greatly upon it, or to seek for or desire any which does not arise from the pursuit of right ends by right means. Whatever popularity that may bring, will be as grateful to me as to any one. But I neither covet nor am ambitious of any other.” He expressed in that modest way the same thought Lord Mansfield expressed when he said “I am not insensible to popularity: but I desire the popularity that follows, not that which is run after.”

In 1841, very near the conclusion of his second term in the Senate, he was appointed, by universal consent, and with unqualified approbation, Judge of the United States Court for the district of Vermont, to succeed Judge Paine, who had deceased. He went upon the bench, and remained there the rest of his life.

In those days, Judge Nelson was the Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, who was assigned to this circuit. And unlike the judges of our day, who are either too busy or too little inclined, to travel about the country and hold circuit courts, it used to be Judge Nelson’s practice, and his pleasure, to come up into Vermont once a year at least, and sometimes oftener, and sit in the United States Court with Judge Prentiss. If there ever was a better court than that, for the daily administration of human justice, year in and year out, in great matters and small, I do not know where it sat. The men were

entirely unlike. No two judges so eminent could have been less alike than they were. Judge Nelson was not a great lawyer; he was a very good one. He had a large judicial experience; natural judicial qualities; great practical sagacity, a strong sense of justice, and the moral courage of a lion. He was probably one of the best presiding magistrates that has sat upon the bench of any *nisi prius* court in our day. Not, I repeat, because he was a great lawyer, but because he was a great magistrate. He had a sway over the proceedings of his court that controlled its results for good; there was a moral power and dignity about it that was salutary in its influence, not only on the business in hand, but upon everybody that came near it. It was felt by counsel, by juries, by witnesses, by parties. I used to think, as Justice is depicted as bearing the scales and the sword, that Prentiss carried the scales, and Nelson the sword. Prentiss carried the scales, hung upon a diamond pivot, fit to weigh the tenth part of a hair; so conscientious he was, so patient, so thoughtful, so considerate, so complete in his knowledge of every principle and every detail of the law of the land. When he held up the scales, he not only weighed accurately, but everybody felt that he weighed accurately. But his very modesty, his distrust of himself, his fear lest he should go too far or too fast, deprived him to some extent of what might be called the courage of his judicial convictions. Nelson, when they sat together, always took care to assure himself from Judge Prentiss, that he was right in his conclusions. They never differed. It would have been very difficult to have brought Judge Nelson to a different conclusion from what he was aware Judge Prentiss had arrived at. But the sword of justice in Nelson's hand, was "the sword of the Lord and of

Gideon." And when a decision was reached, it was put in force without delay or further debate, and without recall. And so it was that the court became like the shadow of a great rock in a weary land. It carried with it an inevitable respect and confidence. It was a terror to the evil doer, and the prompt protection of the just.

And yet so modest, even in that fine and ripe and consummate experience and knowledge that Judge Prentiss had attained, so modest was he in its exercise, that it was difficult to bring him to a final decision in important matters, without the assistance of Judge Nelson. And he never could be brought, though much urged, to go to the city of New York to assist in the discharge of the press of business there, as it is customary for judges to do, and as I am frank to say he ought to have done. He did himself injustice by the excess of his modesty; but after all it was an error on the praiseworthy side.

These desultory observations upon Judge Prentiss' life, in its various relations, may perhaps have indicated sufficiently what I desire to convey, in regard to the qualities of his character and his intellect; he was a man of rare and fine powers, of complete attainments in jurisprudence, a student and a thinker all the days of his life; conservative in all his opinions, conscientious to the last degree, thoughtful of others, a gentleman in grain, because he was born so, a Christian in the largest sense of the term, whose whole life was spent in the careful discharge of his duty, without a thought of himself, his own aggrandizement, or his own reputation. I saw him for the last time I ever saw him, on the bench of his court, towards the close of his life, perhaps at the last term he ever held. He was as charming to look at as a beautiful woman, old as he was. His hair was snow white, his eyes had a gentleness of expression that

no painter can do justice to ; his face carried on every line of it the impress of thought, of study, of culture, of complete and consummate attainment. His cheek had the color of youth. His figure was as erect and almost as slender as that of a young man. His old fashioned attire, the snowy ruffle, and white cravat, the black velvet waistcoat, and the blue coat with brass buttons, was complete in its neatness and elegance. And the graciousness of his presence, so gentle, so courteous, so dignified, so kindly, was like a benediction to those who came into it. Happy is the man to whom old age brings only maturity and not decay. It brought to him not the premonitions of weakness, of disease, and dissolution, but only ripeness—ripeness for a higher and a better world. It shone upon him like the light of the October sun, on the sheaves of the ripened harvest.

Of his private and domestic life, I forbear to speak. Historical societies have nothing to do with that. Some here are old enough to remember the admirable woman, his wife. Some may still remember his home, in a day when as I have said before, the times were different from what they are now. Steam had not put out the fire on the hearth. Ostentation had not paralyzed hospitality. The houses swarmed with healthy children. There were fewer books, but more study. There was less noise, and more leisure. There was plainer living, and better thinking. He had, as some knew, peculiarities—eccentricities they might be called—in his personal conduct. They were nothing, probably, but the outgrowth of a strong individuality, which consideration for others restrained from having any other vent. His ways were exact ; they were set ; they were peculiar. When he came down from his chamber in the morning, and his family and his guests were in the house, he spoke to no one. It was understood that no one should speak

to him. He passed through them as if in a vacant room, to his particular chair. He took down the Bible, and read a chapter ; and he rose up, and offered a prayer. And then he went to the breakfast table. After that, there was no courtesy more benignant and kindly than his. And that was an unvarying practice ; and every one who knew the ways of his household respected it. It was the flower of that old time reverence which distinguished his whole life ; when he came forth in the morning, *he spoke to God first.*

It never seemed to me—I was too far away at the time of his funeral to be present—it never seemed to me that he was dead. It never seemed as if I should find his grave if I explored your cemetery. He seemed to illustrate how it was that in the old days it came to be believed, that some men departed this life without dying. He looked to me like a man who was only waiting to hear the words, “ Friend, come up higher ” ;—like one who in due time would pass on before us, not through the valley of the shadow of death, appointed to all the living, but walking away from us, upward and onward, until like the prophet of old, he walked with God, and disappeared from our sight among the stars.

It has been said, and often repeated, that history is philosophy teaching by example. That is as true of personal history, as of national ; because the one is only the aggregate of the other. The mere flight of time does not make history. For countless centuries the land we live in lay under the eye of the Almighty, and the morning and the evening rose and fell upon it, and the summer and the winter came and went, but it had no history, because it had no civilized life. History is the story of the life of men ; principally the public and conspicuous men ;

strictly, the aggregate life of all men. There are lives enough that terminate at the grave, that display no example, point no moral, transmit no inheritance. They are but the dust that returns to the dust again. No Historical Society need busy itself about them. They are not those that make the history of a nation great. I have spoken, (how imperfectly, no one knows better than I do,) of one of the illustrious lives of the earlier annals of Vermont. But he did not stand alone. He stood among his peers, among the men of his day in the state of Vermont, eminent, useful, distinguished in all the departments of life, and especially in public life. They are all gone, —like him—with him. They have bequeathed to us a history, than which there is no better. There are more splendid histories; there are none more worthy, more noble, than that of our own state of Vermont. No people have more right to be proud of their history than we have.

And the moral of such lives is, that it is for us to preserve that history unimpaired and unstained, and to transmit it to the children who are growing up about us, and who will so soon fill our places.

How shall it be done? *By seeing to it that the quality of the men in public places and public trusts does not run down.* I do not say this because I think it needs specially to be said in the State of Vermont. Our high places are still worthily filled. But it is a point to which the attention of American people everywhere needs to be directed. As long as these lives are noble and great, so long we shall maintain the honor of the history, and the beneficence of the prosperity of the State of Vermont.

It is a common saying, that this is a government of the people. That is a mistake; there never was a government of the

people. No people can administer a government; they only designate the men who shall administer it. That is what they have to do, and all they can do. We have seen the manner of men that our fathers placed in the discharge of public trusts. If the same superiority which they demanded, we demand, it will be forthcoming. The world has not depreciated. There is as much capacity in it as there ever was. If it is called for, it will come to the surface. If it is made, as it should be, the exclusive requisite to public office of importance, it will not fail to be found. It is time there was courage enough to controvert the idea that in some parts of this country is making its way, that all that is necessary to qualify a man for high office, is the cunning that enables him to get into it. The government of the country requires personal superiority; superiority of natural capacity, superiority of attainment; the acquirements of those who have been willing to toil while others slept; and it is time that we had the sense to think so, and the courage to say so.

When the day comes, as it has come in too many other places, when the road to high office shall require a man, instead of attaining the requisite superiority, to divest himself of all appearance of superiority to the general mass of mankind, and to assimilate himself as completely as possible with those who are inferior; and having thus achieved a mean and unworthy popularity, then to exercise his ability in crawling into place, by traffic, and management, and intrigue—when that time comes, I say, it will need no prophet or astrologer to cast the horoscope of our State. The dry rot will permeate every timber of the edifice that our fathers reared, and all the glory of the past will be lost in the dishonor of the future.







